

# *The* MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Abstracts of Notes and Manuscripts

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## ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI, AS A CENTER OF THE CATTLE TRADE<sup>1</sup>

BY FRANK S. POPPLEWELL

In order to get a proper perspective of St. Joseph, Missouri, as a center of the cattle trade, it is necessary to return to the day when that town was a part of the great American frontier. Along the western borders of Missouri, Arkansas, and Iowa the advancing stream of home seekers seems to have halted for a quarter of a century between 1825 and 1850. On the upper Missouri river these settlers built the river towns of Independence, Westport, St. Joseph, and Council Bluffs—all of which served as gateways and supply stations for emigrants bound for the West. Beyond these settlements lay a vast and little known region referred to in school geographies as the "Great American Desert," which in this early day was traversed by California gold seekers, Oregon emigrants, Indians, soldiers, and buffalo, but which in the 1860's was to become the scene of one of America's greatest industries, the range cattle business.

The first white settlement of St. Joseph was made in 1803 by Joseph Robidoux, an employee of the American Fur Company. All up and down the frontier, this settlement was known as "Robidoux's" or "Blacksnake Hills." Father De Smet, the widely known missionary who labored among the Indian tribes of the northwestern United States, referred to it in 1838 as "one of finest locations on the river for the erection of a city."<sup>2</sup> In 1845, a correspondent for the *St. Louis Reveille* wrote that St. Joseph had a population of "several hundred with upwards of a dozen stores, two or three hotels, cabinet making shops, wagon shops, and a half dozen lawyers."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This article is a summary of the author's masters thesis completed at the University of Missouri in June, 1937.

<sup>2</sup>*Life, Letters, and Travels of Father De Smet Among the North American Indians*, ed. by Hiram M. Chittenden and Alfred T. Richardson, Vol. III, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, August 15, 1845.

The economic basis for the development of St. Joseph at this period was found in the business of furnishing supplies of oxen, mules, and provisions to emigrants bound for the West. Like all frontier communities, St. Joseph had little ready cash, for the farmers were still in debt for their lands. Any forces, therefore, which would create a demand for cattle, bacon, and lard, and bring money into the town would enrich the farmers and provide a strong impetus to the cattle trade. Such forces were adequately provided by the Oregon and California migrations and by the needs of the frontier military forts for cattle and their products.

With the acquisition of the Oregon territory by the United States in 1846, the volume of traffic to that country through St. Joseph swelled into a veritable flood. A correspondent for the *St. Louis News*, writing in St. Joseph in May, 1853, declared that "for the past two weeks roads leading into this city have been thronged with emigrant wagons, cattle, and horses, and our streets have been so crowded that it is with difficulty that you can get along the sidewalks."<sup>4</sup> In the spring of 1854, it was reported that ten thousand head of stock for Oregon had been bought in the city.<sup>5</sup>

The second great customer of St. Joseph farmers during this period was Fort Leavenworth, the general depot for the distribution of supplies to all military establishments throughout the West. These supplies were collected by steamboats plying up and down the Missouri river and calling at such towns as Leavenworth, Weston, and St. Joseph.<sup>6</sup> When Horace Greeley visited Fort Leavenworth, he wrote that "no one who does not see can realize what a vast business this is . . . there is at least two million dollars invested in oxen, mules, and wagons."<sup>7</sup>

The Oregon migrations and the market furnished by the military forts were two powerful forces which established St. Joseph as a thriving western town. In the seven-year period between 1846 and 1853 the population grew from 964 to 2,257. The total value of the stock of goods in St. Joseph

<sup>4</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, May 25, 1853.

<sup>5</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, March 1, 1854.

<sup>6</sup>Hunt, Elvid, *History of Fort Leavenworth, 1827-1827*, p. 97.

<sup>7</sup>Greeley, Horace, *A Journey Across the Continent*, p. 124.

stores in 1849 was over four hundred thousand dollars.<sup>9</sup> Along with this rapid growth, two important lines of economic enterprise were developing—the rise of pork packing establishments and the growth of overland freighting.<sup>9</sup>

The *St. Joseph Gazette*, in disseminating information to prospective emigrants, called attention to the fact that “there is a large Beef and Pork Packing Establishment here and the proprietors are prepared to furnish such articles at prices cheaper than can be procured in any other town in the West.”<sup>10</sup> By the first of December, 1848, two pork packing firms, one the Corby and McLaughlin, the other Baker and Holladay, had slaughtered about 1,500 hogs.<sup>11</sup> Shortly before the Civil war, the David Pinger Pork Packing Company was established and enjoyed a flourishing business for over twenty years.<sup>12</sup>

With the establishment of mining camps in California, and the increase in the number of settlers thereafter its admission into the Union in 1850, there developed the greatest market for beef cattle which St. Joseph enjoyed before the Civil war. The demand for beef in the mining camps was tremendous “as the men soon grow tired of salt bacon and pork.”<sup>13</sup> Cows could be bought in Missouri for ten dollars and sold in California for one hundred and fifty dollars per head.<sup>14</sup> Enterprising stockmen from St. Joseph were to be found traversing Missouri, Arkansas, and Iowa in search of cheap cattle to be sold in St. Joseph during the spring emigration.<sup>15</sup> It was estimated by the local press that ten thousand head of cattle crossed the Missouri river in May, 1853, and that one hundred thousand would be sent across the prairies during the summer.<sup>16</sup>

The problem of communication, particularly that of railroad connections with eastern markets, was common to all

<sup>9</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, December 25, 1846; March 2, 1853.

<sup>10</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, February 16, 1849.

<sup>11</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, March 6, 1846.

<sup>12</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, December 8, 1848.

<sup>13</sup>*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, January 1, 1875.

<sup>14</sup>Reverend B. H. Russell to Dr. Bret of Independence, Mo., reprinted from the *Independence Messenger* in the *St. Joseph Gazette*, January 1, 1853.

<sup>15</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, January 10, 1853.

<sup>16</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, February 25, 1853.

<sup>17</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, May 18, 1853.

frontier towns, and in this respect there was a growing demand in St. Joseph for connections with eastern roads. The principal advocates of such a project were the local press, the western emigrants, and St. Joseph merchants who replenished their stores with manufactured goods from eastern cities. On the other hand, there were certain groups within the city which were opposed to this innovation. Stock dealers, growing wealthy on sales to western towns, were unfavorable to a railroad which would bring better breeds of stock from the East. Pork packers looked with disapproval upon carloads of bacon, pork, and lard from eastern competitors. John Graves, president of the board of railroad commissioners, regretted "to see some persons of wealth . . . endeavoring to prevent their neighbors from taking stock in the road."<sup>17</sup> It is clear that the indifference of many people in St. Joseph toward a new railroad to the East was due to the fact that men are not prone to give up profitable lines of endeavor for the new and untried, and not to culpable indifference as is frequently charged.

Because of this lack of interest, progress in construction on the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad proceeded slowly. Congress responded promptly, as did the Missouri legislature, with land grants and authorization for bond issues.<sup>18</sup> The survey was completed in 1850, and construction proceeded at intervals for a period of nine years. Completed in 1859, this road gave St. Joseph the distinction of being the westernmost town in the United States with rail connections.<sup>19</sup>

The outbreak of the Civil war with the fall of Fort Sumter in April, 1861, paralyzed the economic and commercial life of St. Joseph. A twenty-year period of almost unbroken prosperity was temporarily ended. A contemporary account of conditions in 1862 says that "our streets are filled with armed men and our business houses are used for stables, our school houses are used for barracks, our merchants are insolvent. . . . Business is dead in the highways."<sup>20</sup> These

<sup>17</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, January 21, 1848.

<sup>18</sup>Riegel, Robert E., *The Story of the Western Railroads*, p. 49.

<sup>19</sup>*First Annual Report of the St. Joseph Board of Trade*, 1873, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup>*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, February 27, 1862.

conditions were, however, only temporary. By 1863, United States troops were in command of the city and trade was free to continue under the protection of Union guns.<sup>21</sup> The general business boom which occurred throughout the North during and following hostilities spread rapidly westward to St. Joseph and beyond to the Great Plains. Freight companies, notably Woolworth and Barton, were organized to take advantage of the high prices prevailing throughout the West.<sup>22</sup> To take advantage of the high beef prices of twelve dollars per hundred pounds in Colorado, about 500,000 cattle were driven from northwest Missouri in the spring of 1864.<sup>23</sup> "Some of the best herds in this country" were reported crossing the Missouri river on their way to the West in the fall of that year.<sup>24</sup>

In the East the demand for cattle and hogs was equally great. The army and the growing cities needed beef, pork and leather goods. Thousands of cattle were reported going east over the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad in the fall of 1863.<sup>25</sup> Many farmers were slaughtering their cattle and marketing the hides at sixteen cents a pound.<sup>26</sup> Under the stimulus of the war trade, St. Joseph also became the center of a large hog-growing region. During the packing season of 1863 about 3,000 hogs were shipped daily over the Hannibal and St. Joseph.<sup>27</sup> St. Joseph newspapers are filled with accounts of the great business activity prevailing throughout northwest Missouri at this time.

Following the Civil war, the Texas cattle drovers commenced their well-known invasion of the Great Plains with their herds of longhorns which had been feeding and breeding on the Texas grass lands while their owners were away fighting battles for the cotton planters.<sup>28</sup> Failing to reach the Missouri Pacific railroad at Sedalia on account of the hostility

<sup>21</sup>First Annual Report of the St. Joseph Board of Trade, 1873, p. 10.

<sup>22</sup>St. Joseph Morning Herald, August 25, 1863.

<sup>23</sup>St. Joseph Morning Herald, February 4, 1864.

<sup>24</sup>St. Joseph Morning Herald, September 25, 1864.

<sup>25</sup>St. Joseph Morning Herald, October 2, 1863.

<sup>26</sup>St. Joseph Morning Herald, October 29, 1863.

<sup>27</sup>St. Joseph Morning Herald, November 26; December 1, 1863.

<sup>28</sup>Dale, Edward Everett, *The Range and Ranch Cattle Industry*, Chapters 1 and 2.

of angry Ozark farmers, the first Texas drovers revised their plans and headed north through Kansas to St. Joseph. During the late summer and early fall of 1866, considerable numbers of Texas cattle went through St. Joseph, either on their way to eastern markets or to northwest Missouri farmers to be used as stockers and feeders. In August, 1866, it was reported that eight hundred and fifty head were grazing in DeKalb county.<sup>29</sup> Altogether about twenty-five thousand were ferried across the Missouri river at St. Joseph in 1866.<sup>30</sup>

The immediate effect of the Texas cattle invasion of St. Joseph was to enable farmers and stockmen to acquire breeding stock with which to increase their herds after the depletion caused by the abnormal demands of the war. The farmers of northeastern Kansas were by this time giving more attention to the raising of stock, most of which were shipped to Illinois as feeders.<sup>31</sup> Atchison and Holt counties in northwest Missouri were sending numbers of improved breeds out of St. Joseph for eastern markets.<sup>32</sup> Many Illinois feeders were in the city during the fall of 1866 purchasing stock for their farms.<sup>33</sup>

The importance of all this lies in the fact that St. Joseph was able to profit from the early cattle drives because of the failure of the Texas drovers to reach a railroad elsewhere. Should railroad promoters extend their lines farther into the West, they could acquire the Texas cattle business at points far more convenient to the drovers, and consequently deprive St. Joseph of its connection with that trade. St. Joseph was, therefore, profiting from the fact that poor transportation conditions prevailed throughout the West.

In 1867, the Kansas Pacific line was extended to Salina, Kansas. Two years later the Union Pacific spanned the continent. At the same time, the Missouri river bridge was completed at Kansas City, and a branch of the Hannibal and St. Joseph was extended from Cameron, Missouri, to Kansas City, where it established contact with the Kansas

<sup>29</sup>*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, August 21, 1866.

<sup>30</sup>*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, November 11, 1866.

<sup>31</sup>*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, August 5, 1866.

<sup>32</sup>*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, June 4, 1867.

<sup>33</sup>*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, November 22, 1867.



Pacific.<sup>24</sup> In 1867, Joseph G. McCoy turned Abilene, Kansas, into a shipping point for Texas cattle, and during the first year, shipped over a thousand cars to eastern cattle markets.<sup>25</sup>

St. Joseph newspapers and citizens were not unmindful of the significance of these revolutionary changes going on in other places. Propaganda was disseminated which played up the former greatness of the city, and declared that "an effort is being made by our rivals to control the vast trade of the West."<sup>26</sup> Newspapers advised their readers that "we must compel every line of railroad which approaches north-west Missouri to come here, and we must bridge the Missouri."<sup>27</sup>

The response to the growing demand for action was not enthusiastic. When an attempt was made to raise a thousand dollars for the support of a lobby in the interest of St. Joseph as a terminus for the Union Pacific railroad, local merchants laughed and declared "our great and natural advantage compels the road to locate here."<sup>28</sup> Men who would have been greatly benefited by a bridge across the Missouri river "would not give a cent."<sup>29</sup> The attitude in St. Joseph toward the needs of the new day was, therefore, much the same as that manifested toward the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad.

The common explanation given of this hostility toward progressive measures is that the people lacked initiative. On the other hand, the facts show that these people were of an energetic stock. For over a generation they supplied western emigrants, they organized overland freighting companies, built pork packing establishments, and carried on the bustling life of all frontier towns. A more reasonable explanation would seem to be found in the shortsighted reluctance of freighting merchants to brook competition from a railroad to the Pacific. Hardware merchants, dealers in saddlery, wagon makers, pork packers, and cattle dealers were already making enormous profits in supplying western mining towns. Farm-

<sup>24</sup>Riegel, *The Story of the Western Railroads*, p. 105.

<sup>25</sup>McCoy, Joseph G., *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*, p. 53.

<sup>26</sup>*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, April 18, 1867.

<sup>27</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Herald*, March 17, 1870.

<sup>28</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Herald*, June 2, 1870.

<sup>29</sup>*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, March 17, 1870.

ers and stockmen already improving their herds were not enthusiastic about a railroad which would bring competition from cheaper Texas cattle.

The initiative for a railroad west from St. Joseph came, therefore, from the Federal government which, for strategic reasons, took an active interest in transcontinental lines during the Civil war. The Union Pacific railroad act of 1862 authorized the organization of a company to construct a line westward to the Republican river where it was to effect a junction with the Kansas City branch of the Union Pacific.<sup>40</sup> The city council appointed a board of directors who took out articles of incorporation, and with the aid of bonds floated in Buchanan county, Missouri, and in Doniphan and Brown counties in Kansas, completed the road to Seneca, Kansas, in 1870.<sup>41</sup> The following year the road was purchased by New York capitalists who completed it to Hastings, Nebraska, where contact was established with the Union Pacific. From that time on, the road was known as the St. Joseph and Grand Island. Meanwhile, other lines were building into the city and improving connections with points like Omaha, Kansas City, and St. Louis.

In 1869, a bridge building company was organized by the St. Joseph city council, but progress in construction was slow because of the opposition of many groups toward improved communication in the West.<sup>42</sup> It was not until June, 1873, that the Missouri river bridge was opened for rail and highway traffic.<sup>43</sup> After considerable agitation by the local press, a stock yards company was organized which built pens and shoots on the Kansas side of the bridge.<sup>44</sup>

Ten years after the first Texas drives, therefore, St. Joseph was equipped with a bridge, stock yards, and railroad connections with the cattle country. During this time, however, Kansas cow towns such as Newton and Dodge City had been called into being by the Santa Fe. Larger and more commodi-

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<sup>40</sup>Trottmann, Nelson, *History of the Union Pacific*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>41</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Herald*, August 25, 1870.

<sup>42</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Herald*, March 17, 1870.

<sup>43</sup>*St. Joseph Morning Herald*, December 16, 1873.

<sup>44</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, June 2, 1873.

ous stock yards had been built at Kansas City, and the cattle men were consequently drawn to these places.<sup>46</sup>

While the St. Joseph newspapers and interested citizens were struggling with the problem of bridge construction and railroads, signs were appearing that northwest Missouri was developing into a great feeding and breeding ground for high grade cattle. Durham cattle were to be found in DeKalb county in 1866.<sup>46</sup> "Some fine herds" were on exhibition at the Holt County Agricultural Association meeting in 1871.<sup>47</sup> Shorthorn cattle appeared in Buchanan county in 1872.<sup>48</sup> J. Kate Burgess of St. Joseph was widely known for his Durham breeding stock.<sup>49</sup> All during the seventies and eighties this tendency to improve the quality of cattle continued and by the opening of the eighties the trade territory of St. Joseph was developing into a stock growing country.

One of the markets for this improved stock was found in supplying the western ranges with good breeding stock. As early as 1871, several St. Joseph citizens were "selecting and transporting to the base of the Rockies, herds of cows of improved breed. . . ."<sup>50</sup> In 1882, five head of purebred Herefords were purchased at Plattsburg, Missouri, for breeding stock on Texas ranches.<sup>51</sup> As early as 1872, the Missouri Board of Agriculture advised stockmen to develop the Shorthorn breed to be supplied to the western ranges.<sup>52</sup>

In spite of all this development in the numbers and quality of cattle, St. Joseph failed to become an important outlet for this trade. In 1884, over one hundred thousand head of cattle were fed for market, yet only 11,429 were reported received at St. Joseph during the year ending September 30.<sup>53</sup> Reports from Gentry county, typical of others, state that "the bulk of our fattened cattle go to Chicago, except a good number of hogs which find their way to St. Joseph."<sup>54</sup>

<sup>46</sup>McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*, p. 271.

<sup>47</sup>*Report of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture*, 1866, p. 247.

<sup>48</sup>*Report of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture*, 1872, p. 213.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, May 14, 1874.

<sup>51</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, May 25, 1871.

<sup>52</sup>*Breeders Gazette* (Chicago), November 29, 1893.

<sup>53</sup>*Report of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture*, 1872, p. 41.

<sup>54</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Herald*, October 19, 1884.

<sup>55</sup>*Report of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture*, 1874, p. 78.

Three main difficulties stood in the way of the development of the St. Joseph cattle market: lack of adequate stock yards, the need of modern packing plants, and the problem of railroad discrimination. Local newspapers never wearied of pointing out that "this constantly increasing trade presents the almost absolute necessity of a beef packing plant here."<sup>55</sup> The old stock yards, built in 1874, were too small and unsanitary to attract large shipments.<sup>56</sup> Money which might have been invested in local enterprises was spent in the development of western cattle ranches.<sup>57</sup> To offset these difficulties St. Joseph newspapers carried on a vigorous campaign to focus the attention of St. Joseph investors on the need for developing the local cattle trade.

The problem of railroad discrimination, common throughout this period, was exceedingly harrassing to St. Joseph and neighboring cattle growing regions. A complaint from Forest City sent to the Missouri Railroad Commission pointed out that on "every car we ship of live stock, they (the Kansas City, St. Joe & Council Bluffs R. R. Co.) ignore the rates fixed by law . . ."<sup>58</sup> Holt county shippers declared that they were "swindled out of thousands of dollars annually."<sup>59</sup> A mass of evidence supports the contention that railroad discrimination was a big obstacle in the development of the St. Joseph cattle trade, and that in the days before Federal control, the only solution lay in the building of new and competing lines.

A new era in railroad building was in progress in the late eighties, and it was attended by the construction of a number of important lines into St. Joseph. In 1887, the Rock Island system was extended into the city, and from there feeder lines were built into the Southwest.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, the Santa Fe duplicated the work of the Rock Island.<sup>61</sup> In 1892, the Chicago Great Western reached St. Joseph and was extended to Kansas City.<sup>62</sup> This construction of competing lines was

<sup>55</sup>*St. Joseph Gazette*, June 12, 1873.

<sup>56</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, December 12, 1884.

<sup>57</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, December 12, 1884.

<sup>58</sup>*Report of the Railroad Commissioners, 1879-1880*, p. 38.

<sup>59</sup>*Report of the Railroad Commissioners, 1887*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>60</sup>Riegel, *The Story of the Western Railroads*, p. 193.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

attended by a decline in discriminatory rates against St. Joseph and neighboring cattle shippers.<sup>63</sup>

The problem of securing a modern packing house and stock yards in St. Joseph was complicated by the "war" going on between the local butchers on the one hand, and the big packers, Armour, Wilson, Morris, and Swift on the other. All the hostility toward trusts and "combines" common throughout western America during this period was brought out in this fight. Everywhere butchers were organizing to protect themselves from the "combine" that was rapidly converting them into mere dealers in meat, and preparing to wage one last, desperate struggle for self-preservation. The St. Joseph Butchers Protective Association was organized to meet the challenge of the "big four."<sup>64</sup> With their organization perfected, the butchers presented their grievances to the lawmakers at Jefferson City, demanding a state livestock inspection bill.<sup>65</sup> When the legislature turned a cold shoulder toward their complaints, the butchers, declaring that the representatives of the people had sold out to the trusts, proceeded to make their wants known to the St. Joseph Board of Trade. The local press, taking up the cause of the butchers, issued an ultimatum to the packers, declaring that "if the great combine must be destroyed let it be known that St. Joseph will not hesitate to do her full share of the work. . . . As long as the people of this city are content to rely on Kansas City for their daily rations, Mr. Armour will pocket the profits, look pleasant, and insist that the cities and towns of the West must buy from him."<sup>66</sup>

The significance of the "war" between the butchers and the packers lies in the fact that it marks the advancement of the new industrial revolution into the St. Joseph meat-packing industry. With the invention of the refrigerator car by Gustavus F. Swift, a few large-scale packing plants, strategically located, could slaughter, pack, and ship meat to feed the nation. As the industrial revolution advanced, chemists added to the profits by discovering important by-products. The futility

<sup>63</sup>*Tenth Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission*, 1896, p. 63.

<sup>64</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Herald*, February 14, 1889.

<sup>65</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Herald*, February 14, 1889.

<sup>66</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Gazette*, May 9, 1889.

of resistance was recognized by the *St. Joseph Herald* when it declared that "if our city is to remain an indifferent observer to the establishment of packing houses, then this condition of things should be allowed to exist."<sup>67</sup>

These facts and figures convinced St. Joseph investors that the only solution for the problem was for the city to align itself with the new movement in meat packing. James McCord and other interested business men organized the St. Joseph Stock Yards Company,<sup>68</sup> and completed the construction of yards and an exchange building in 1887.<sup>69</sup> But actual conditions showed that St. Joseph needed a modern beef-packing plant. In order to raise the necessary funds, the city council sold the lots in the Chester addition at public auction. With this money, the Stock Yards Company proceeded with the erection of a plant which it leased to the Anchor Beef Packing Company.<sup>70</sup> In 1892, another beef plant was erected and leased to the Moran Packing Company for a period of ten years.<sup>71</sup> In spite of the effort to build up the livestock business, the showing made by the new plants was not encouraging. In 1895, the Moran Company failed, forcing the Stock Yards Company into receivership.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, the following table shows an increase in receipts and shipments during this period:

Year	Receipts	Shipments
1888 <sup>73</sup> .....	28,305	24,504
1889 <sup>74</sup> .....	30,061	27,177
1893 <sup>75</sup> .....	39,244	18,875
1894 .....	52,256	26,509

How can the increase in receipts and shipments on the one hand, and the failure of the St. Joseph packing plants on the other, be accounted for? In the first place, it was becoming

<sup>67</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Gazette*, May 9, 1889.

<sup>68</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Gazette*, November 11, 1886.

<sup>69</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, September 22, 1887.

<sup>70</sup>*St. Joseph Weekly Gazette*, June 6, 1889.

<sup>71</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, October 1, 1889.

<sup>72</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, May 11, 1895.

<sup>73</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, September 22, 1895.

<sup>74</sup>*Annual Report of the St. Joseph Board of Trade*, 1889, pp. 31-32.

<sup>75</sup>*Annual Report of the St. Joseph Stock Yards Company*, 1923, p. 14.

recognized that range cattle could be more profitably fattened on corn before sale to the packer than on the ranges which were overstocked. The *St. Joseph Herald* stated that "any person who has been connected with the range cattle business knows that the object was reduction or sacrifice."<sup>76</sup> In the second place, the depression years of the early nineties saw beef prices drop so low that stockmen of northwest Missouri disposed of their best herds because they could not afford to keep them.<sup>77</sup> In the third place, these same stockmen bought up cheaper range cattle as stockers and feeders.<sup>78</sup> Considerable portions of these sales passed through the stock yards.

On the other hand, the new beef-packing plants found that heavy sales of good, fat beef cattle seriously affected their source of supply. Moreover, the prevailing low prices of beef, together with the fact that the local packers operated on a smaller scale than the "combine," gave them so small a margin of profit that it made it impossible to conduct a paying business.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, however, conditions in and around St. Joseph appeared more and more favorable for the establishment of meat packing on a large scale. A general wave of prosperity broke upon the cattle industry about 1895. Beef prices rose so rapidly that "even the high prices paid by dealers during the World's Fair will be exceeded. . . ."<sup>79</sup> The new railroads had placed St. Joseph in a good location with reference to the sources of cattle supply and eastern markets. The stock yards had been built and were of a size and capacity to accommodate large shipments, while the territory around the city had grown into a great feeding and breeding ground. The local yards and packing plants had emerged from the depression in bad financial condition, which meant that their interests could be purchased at a favorable figure by big capital.

This favorable situation was not overlooked by Gustavus F. Swift. In reply to an invitation by John Donovan, Swift

<sup>76</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, January 27, 1891.

<sup>77</sup>*Report of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture*, 1893, p. 142.

<sup>78</sup>*Report of the Missouri State Board of Agriculture*, 1893, p. 216.

<sup>79</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, March 28, 1895.



came to St. Joseph on a tour of inspection.<sup>80</sup> He at once purchased eighty per cent of the entire property of the St. Joseph Stock Yards Company. As Swift made preparations for large-scale packing, other members of the "combine" became interested, too. In July, 1897, the Nelson Morris Company announced that it had become joint owner of the stock yards with Swift.<sup>81</sup> On April 1, 1898, Swift was ready for business, while Morris opened a week later.<sup>82</sup> There is little wonder that May 11 and 12 were set aside by St. Joseph as jubilee days, and that the *Herald* published a thirty-six page special edition.<sup>83</sup> That the confidence of St. Joseph people was not misplaced is revealed by the following table which tells an interesting story of the great change which took place in the cattle trade after 1898:<sup>84</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Shipments</i>
1896.....	36,893	15,091
1898.....	225,984	37,114
1900.....	397,967	85,847
1905.....	501,200	123,567
1910.....	510,297	154,567
1915.....	405,852	157,600
1920.....	552,967	214,967
1925.....	608,616	166,484
1930.....	459,356	132,727
1935.....	375,389	89,243

From a study of St. Joseph, Missouri, as a center of the cattle trade, a number of interesting observations can be made. In the first place, prosperity during the frontier period was based entirely upon the westward movement. St. Joseph was admirably situated to profit from this movement, and it is in part due to a lingering hope that the old superiority of "natural advantage" would be the deciding factor in city building that the citizens were slow to encourage local industries.

<sup>80</sup>*The Busser* (Swift and Company), Vol. VII, July 15, 1920, p. 11.

<sup>81</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, January 19, 1897.

<sup>82</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, July 25, 1897.

<sup>83</sup>*St. Joseph Daily Herald*, May 11, 1898.

<sup>84</sup>*Annual Report of the St. Joseph Stock Yards Company*, 1935, p. 15.



The Texas cattle drives demonstrated the futility of relying upon geographical location in nineteenth century America, and started the long movement for railroads, stock yards, and packing houses. As the movement gained momentum through better understanding of the problem, St. Joseph people rallied to the task of fitting their city into the industrial pattern of modern America.

## THE EVOLUTION OF A FRONTIER SOCIETY IN MISSOURI, 1815-1828<sup>1</sup>

BY HATTIE M. ANDERSON

### PART II

#### AMUSEMENTS

The isolation and common hardships experienced in Missouri bred a genuine social spirit among her citizens. This spirit found expression in community gatherings such as house raisings, log rollings, quilting bees, bee hunts,<sup>2</sup> county court days, political rallies,<sup>3</sup> camp meetings, and the less weighty public dinners, dances,<sup>4</sup> horse races, and election day parades.<sup>5</sup> Even in his lighter moments the frontiersman evidently preferred amusements of the more strenuous type. Apparently, there were few gatherings of people where there was not a horse race as well as a fight.<sup>6</sup> Self-assurance and a

<sup>1</sup>This is the second of a series of articles based on Chapter IV of the author's doctoral dissertation entitled *A Study in Frontier Democracy: The Social and Economic Bases of the Rise of the Jackson Group in Missouri, 1815-1828*. (University of Missouri, 1935.)

<sup>2</sup>McAnally, David R., *History of Methodism in Missouri*, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, (Franklin), January 13, 1826. Article signed "Farmer of Howard." The candidates "must attend all the musters and public meetings in the county."

<sup>4</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, June 18, 1821: Describes the gay confusion at country dances. *Missouri Intelligencer*, February 28, 1824: In describing a Washington "ball," it was said that the occasion brought together nearly all the beauty and fashion of the town and its vicinity, and the entertainment afforded perfect satisfaction to all who were present. *Missouri Intelligencer*, December 21, 1827: The young women of Fayette had new laces, new dresses, and new ribbons for the Christmas ball, and were gaily busy "preparing head-dresses, twisting their curls, and crimping their colarettes." There may have been some disapproval, however, for the editor said, "While our sons and daughters are vying with each other in the joyous and mazy dance, exhilarated by the sweet tones of the violin or the tinkling cymbal, let us not censure too harshly. We, too, once were young—we, too, once felt that there was no harm in this charming and gay amusement.—Human nature is the same now that it was then—they, too, will see, if life lasts, as we now see that although not criminal, perhaps not foolish, still that when they are old they will cease to delight in its amusements."

<sup>5</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, August 20, 1828.

<sup>6</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, December 17, 1819. *Independent Patriot* (Jackson), April 20, 1825. Jackson passed an ordinance to prevent horse-racing through the streets. There was also a criticism of betting on races;

contentious competitive spirit account for both. A man gambled his future on the promise of the frontier. In the same spirit, in his more carefree moments he played cards and bet on horse races.<sup>7</sup>

Frontiersmen contrived to have a good many public dinners.<sup>8</sup> At these liquor flowed freely, for innumerable toasts "were drank" and tongues were loosened. Under the inspiration of drinking and the exhilaration due to the occasion men vied with each other in toasts on all conceivable subjects of interest: national and local, economic, social, religious, intellectual, and political. Whether the toasts were drunk in cider, the super-abundant whisky, or something more "elegant," or that the phrase was only symbolic at times, is not recorded. Now and then an editor commented upon the occasion by saying, "The day was spent in harmony and conviviality,"<sup>9</sup> or "The greatest order and social harmony prevailed,"<sup>10</sup> which arouses a suspicion that this was not always true on such occasions.

Frontiersmen were nationalistic and extremely patriotic, and were willing to prove this with the offer of their lives. They expressed this in lighter ways, too, for the gala day of all days in Missouri was the Fourth of July, when entire communities met to commemorate the wisdom and patriotism of the fathers, and the favor of an all-wise and supervising Provi-

<sup>7</sup>Peck, John Mason, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 85. Peck considered gambling the favorite amusement during the territorial period. Games were known to last thirty hours, and in some places gamblers met regularly three times a week. In St. Louis, gambling was carried on openly by respectable lawyers, medical men, merchants, civil and military officers, and Indian traders. *Missouri Gazette* (St. Louis), July 6, July 13, 1816; *Independent Patriot*, August 11, 1821; *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), January 10, 1825; *Missouri Republican*, January 24, 1825, article signed "Mercury;" *Independent Patriot*, April 30, 1825.

<sup>8</sup>*St. Louis Enquirer*, February 24, 1821: Dinner on Washington's birthday. *Missouri Republican*, March 29, 1827: Dinner on St. Patrick's day. *St. Louis Enquirer*, April 21, 1821: Dinner in honor of John Scott. Edward Harrocks, secretary, gave notice to pay for tickets. *St. Louis Enquirer*, April 28, 1825: Dinner in honor of Judge Thomas of Illinois.

<sup>9</sup>*Missouri Gazette*, July 14, 1819.

<sup>10</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, July 30, 1819.

dence.<sup>11</sup> It was even suggested that the Fourth of July "ought to be held as sacred as the holy days of the Saints, and it ought to be held as a misdemeanor to attend to any business, save that of necessity or mercy."<sup>12</sup> The reading of the Declaration of Independence<sup>13</sup> could no more be dispensed with than the reading of the Bible in the religious services of the day. Thus on the outskirts of civilization, in Missouri, were all the people nurtured on that document of the liberty of the individual, the sacredness of property, and the duties of a good government.

In 1828, the Jackson men were obviously outstripping the Administration supporters, and, consequently, were bubbling over with the assurance of victory. At Fayette,<sup>14</sup> they made the Fourth a day to vie with each other in expression of loyalty to Andrew Jackson, and of determination to put the government into hands that would rule in the interest of the people.

#### RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE JACKSON GROUP

A study of the social bases of Jacksonian Democracy in Missouri necessarily includes a study of the religious background of the Jackson men in 1828. Missourians were even more diverse in religion than in nationality. The native French were Roman Catholic. Many of the leaders were of the French liberal school, read Voltaire, and held that philosophy replaced religion for a gentleman. Their wives, sisters, and daughters adhered to the Catholic faith, and went

<sup>11</sup>*Missouri Gazette*, July 19, 1817: Fourth of July celebration near Warington in Howard county. *St. Louis Enquirer*, July 14, 1819: In a speech delivered on the 4th of July at Marthasville, Montgomery county, Dr. Young, the orator of the day, said that they gathered together, "their countenances brightening with joy, having reaped a bountiful harvest, and now about to celebrate the American Jubilee." *Missouri Gazette*, July 14, 1819: Picnics were announced through the newspapers a week or two before the event, and careful preparations were made. Proud indeed was the group in St. Louis who could have a portrait of Washington and a live American eagle, with a six-foot spread, perched on this portrait. The newspapers of Missouri throughout this period note the celebrations and list many of the numerous toasts.

<sup>12</sup>*The Missourian* (St. Charles), July 8, 1820.

<sup>13</sup>*St. Louis Enquirer*, July 7, 1821; *Missouri Intelligencer*, July 8, 1823; *Missouri Republican*, August 13, 1823; July 12, 1824.

<sup>14</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, July 25, 1828.

to confession and to mass regularly. The higher class of men attended church on festival days.<sup>15</sup>

Prior to 1818, priests were few in the territory and the people were often without religious instruction for long periods. The cause of religion suffered in consequence.<sup>16</sup> In January, 1818, Bishop William Louis Du Bourg, who had been appointed in 1815 bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, took up his residence at St. Louis, after which there was a very noticeable strengthening of the Catholic Church in Missouri. Although Bishop Du Bourg was Bishop of Louisiana until 1826, he maintained his residence in St. Louis but a few years. During this time, however, he built a large brick church to replace the dilapidated log church, established an academy for boys at St. Louis and a school for girls at Florissant under the direction of a group of French nuns of the Order of the Sacred Heart (the first religious order of women in Missouri), and founded St. Mary's Seminary for the training of priests, at "the Barrens"—what is now Perryville.<sup>17</sup> From this time the Catholic Church was well organized and continued its contribution to the civilizing of the outpost of Christianity, though its work was confined to the older region on the Mississippi and almost entirely to inhabitants of French origin and the sprinkling of Irishmen. Because of this, the Catholic Church, with its conservative religious attitude, is of negligible importance in this study of the social and economic bases of Jacksonian Democracy in Missouri, for practically all the Jackson men were Protestants.

Protestantism threatened Catholic Missouri even before 1804. Under the French régime, in the Mississippi Valley, religious liberty was tolerated, and even marriage was under secular control, but when the Spanish took possession after 1763, they planned unobtrusively to strengthen the church until that institution should have the usual place held in

<sup>15</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>16</sup>Rothensteiner, John, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, Vol. I, pp. 221, 251.

<sup>17</sup>*Missouri Gazette*, March 26, 1818; Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*; *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. V, p. 474.

Spanish colonies.<sup>18</sup> Houck says that although Protestant preachers were forbidden in Missouri as late as 1797, a few crossed over, with the connivance of the officials.<sup>19</sup>

With the transfer of Louisiana to the United States in 1804, both Baptist and Methodist ministers came to Missouri. Among the previous immigrants to this territory and those following 1804, were a comparatively large number of the Baptist persuasion.<sup>20</sup> Evidently, they were of the class attracted by cheap land, and even the ministers were of this type, for many of the Baptist preachers in Missouri made their living by hunting and farming. The Democratic organization of the Baptist Church had proved itself eminently fitted to an independent frontier class who believed in local self-government and separation of church and state. Then, too, its creed had been modified on the successive frontiers.<sup>21</sup>

Among the first Protestant ministers, and possibly the very first, to come to redeem Missouri were the Baptists,<sup>22</sup> who have been conceded the honor of having constructed the first Protestant church in the State in 1806.<sup>23</sup> Following this, Baptist immigrants continued to come to the State and among them were the preachers who saw in Missouri a rich harvest, economically and spiritually. From among the laymen, also, there developed others. One of the first preachers in Missouri

<sup>18</sup>Houck, Louis, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri: A Collection of Papers and Documents Relating to Upper Louisiana, Principally Within the Present Limits of Missouri During the Domain of Spain, from the Archives of the Indies*, Vol. I, pp. 119-120.

<sup>19</sup>Houck, Louis, *A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State into the Union*, Vol. III, pp. 201-209. Rev. Joshua Dodge, a Baptist minister, preached in Ste. Genevieve in 1794. Rev. John Clark, Methodist, crossed over from Illinois in 1796 to preach near St. Louis. Governor Trudeau waited until Clark was ready to leave to protest his presence. Duncan, R. S., *A History of the Baptists in Missouri*, p. 51. According to tradition, Asa Musick, in 1801, sat guard with a gun against a threatened attack by the Catholic officials, while Thomas Musick, a Baptist, preached.

<sup>20</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>21</sup>Sweet, William Warren, *The Story of Religions in America*, pp. 312-316. Sweet says: "Frontier Baptists generally accepted a mild form of Calvinism."

<sup>22</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, p. 37, quoting Peck's "Reminiscences of Missouri," in *The Western Watchman*, Vol. VIII.

<sup>23</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 95: David Green organized a Baptist Church near Jackson in 1806. This congregation built a log meeting house, and for a number of years this was the only Protestant place of worship west of the Mississippi. Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, p. 39: It was about 20 by 30 feet and was built of large yellow poplar logs.

was the picturesque John Clarke,<sup>24</sup> who traveled on foot as far west as Bluffton, as far north as Monroe county and as far south as St. Clair county. Neither heat nor cold, wet weather nor dry weather could stop him. Wherever he went he helped to keep burning a little spiritual light. Some of the societies he formed later developed into Baptist churches.<sup>25</sup>

If the religious preference of the first Americans in Missouri was Baptist, the Methodists followed closely. Sweet says this sect was the most successful of the American churches in following the expansion to the westward, especially in the earlier years. This was due in part to its form of organization, which included the circuit system. Then, too, the Methodist doctrine of free will and free grace presented a religion in which the individual was the master of his own destiny, "which fitted in exactly with the new democracy rising in the West, for both emphasized the actual equality among all men."<sup>26</sup>

At the opening of the century the Western Conference of the Methodist Church included the entire Mississippi Valley.<sup>27</sup> The early Methodist preachers in Missouri, largely from the southern states, "of true Wesleyan stock,"<sup>28</sup> were filled with energy and enthusiasm for missionary work. Sometimes these preachers were reformed gamblers or drunkards, which may have been an asset in giving them a better understanding of the weaknesses of man.<sup>29</sup> A Methodist preacher was the tourist of his day. He traveled in the mountains of East Tennessee and West Virginia one year, the next in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and even crossed over the Mississippi to Missouri.<sup>30</sup> The first Methodist minister appointed to

<sup>24</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, pp. 37-56.

<sup>25</sup>Sweet, William Warren, *The Rise of Methodism in the West; Being the Journal of the Western Conference, 1800-1811*, p. 25; Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, pp. 201-209.

<sup>26</sup>Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, pp. 316-317.

<sup>27</sup>Sweet, *The Rise of Methodism in the West*, pp. 23-37.

<sup>28</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 94.

<sup>29</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, indicates that some Baptist preachers were "reformed men." Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, pp. 238 f. Harbison is said to have agreed to a game of poker if the players would then come to hear him preach. It is said that "they came, heard, fell under conviction of sin, and gave up their wicked life."

<sup>30</sup>Sweet, *The Rise of Methodism in the West*, pp. 23-33.

Missouri was John Travis, in 1806, who was to ride from the region of Pike county on the north to that of Pemiscot county on the south.<sup>31</sup> The early Methodist ministers avoided most towns, save Cape Girardeau, as "places of too much dissipation for the gospel to obtain a foot-hold."<sup>32</sup> But in the rural districts, they aided in many places to keep alive some semblance of religious observance. The membership of the Methodist Church reached 893 in 1812, but decreased thereafter until 1815, just as the growth in population in Missouri decreased after 1810. Likewise, with more settled conditions and the coming of immigrants, membership in the Methodist church began a steady increase in 1815.<sup>33</sup>

By the time of the beginning of the great expansion to the West following 1815, the missionary movement of the East was well under way. The region beyond the Mississippi, where it was reputed that the Sabbath had been excluded, offered an unusual field for the zealot, as well as for the land hungry, and so ministers of almost all denominations flocked to Missouri. Ministers who came from the various states of the East included Timothy Flint and Salmon Giddings from Connecticut and John Mason Peck from New York. Ministers of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and many of the Methodist and Baptist ministers came from such southern states as Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, but more especially from Kentucky and Tennessee. They brought with them the views, feelings, and institutions of the region from which they came, and were more likely to have a sympathetic appreciation of the essential soundness of the westerner in spite of his foibles.<sup>34</sup>

In many instances Baptist ministers of Kentucky accompanied their congregations, who were coming in large numbers; and as has been noted, many of the original settlers north of the Missouri river were of that denomination. These Baptists brought with them a doctrinal quarrel,<sup>35</sup> so that in

<sup>31</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 94.

<sup>32</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, pp. 173, 232.

<sup>33</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, pp. 127-174.

<sup>34</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 146.

<sup>35</sup>Warren, Louis A., "The Religious Background of the Lincoln Family," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (January, 1932), pp. 72-87.



Missouri there were Antinomians, missionary, and anti-missionary Baptists.<sup>36</sup> Importing this quarrel over doctrine, the Baptists were likely to be guilty of hyperorthodoxy, not unmingled with credulity. Those at Cape Girardeau expelled three of their members for leaning toward the hated Arminian views, and one for joining a Masonic lodge. In 1818, however, they gave their consent for Mrs. Hannah Edwards to resort to the medicinal charm of wearing gold earrings for her health.<sup>37</sup> All sects, however, were more or less likely to be bigoted, though some of them did recognize that such an attitude limited their usefulness.<sup>38</sup>

The anti-missionary Baptists maintained that missions, Sunday schools, Bible societies, and similar facilities were all man's contrivances to take God's work out of His own hands. They thought only churches and associations were authorized by the Bible. They denied the conception of human duty and responsibility for other men that was held by the Missionary Baptists. They even accused the Missionary Baptists of being mercenary. The Reverend John Mason Peck, who organized "mite societies" to support missions, was called "a Judas having the bag," "a money-begging missionary," and his work, "the gospel, going on silver wheels."<sup>39</sup>

John Mason Peck, with James Welch of Kentucky, was sent by the General Baptist Society of Philadelphia in 1817, to organize the field and win it for the Baptist faith. Peck was a man of literary ability, a zealous worker, sincere, earnest, deeply religious, public-spirited, a fearless opponent of evil, opposed to slavery, ever ready to further the cause of education, and not very tolerant of the weaknesses of the frontiersmen and the ministers bred on the frontier. Peck and Welch began their work in St. Louis, but soon the former had traveled over the settled portion of Missouri, preaching, organizing congregations, gathering information on the general educa-

<sup>36</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 162; Flint, Timothy, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, pp. 113-114. Simmons, Lucy, "The Rise and Growth of Protestant Bodies in Missouri Territory," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (April, 1928), p. 298, mentions a fourth group of Baptists called "Friends of Humanity," who came as early as 1807.

<sup>37</sup>Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, pp. 201-200.

<sup>38</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, pp. 168-170.

<sup>39</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 109, 102.

tional and social conditions, and making plans for evangelizing Missouri through an educated ministry and better schools.<sup>40</sup>

The impetus for the introduction of Presbyterianism in Missouri can be traced to several causes. Stephen Hempstead, a Presbyterian living in Missouri, made a request of the Presbyterian Church of Connecticut for Bibles and for a minister to organize a church in Missouri.<sup>41</sup> Then, under the auspices of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, Samuel J. Mills made missionary tours in 1812 and 1813, and in 1814 and 1815, going as far as St. Louis.<sup>42</sup> As a result, in 1816, the Missionary Society of Connecticut sent Salmon Giddings and Timothy Flint to evangelize Missouri.<sup>43</sup> Then, too, through the efforts of John McGready and Barton W. Stone, a great evangelical movement had taken place in Kentucky and Tennessee that had modified and liberalized the Calvinistic creed of the Presbyterians. Out of this grew the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which adopted the camp meeting and the circuit system of the Methodists, and required less education for its ministers, whose sermons after this were characterized by a warm evangelical spirit of a radically modified Calvinism.<sup>44</sup> This made the Cumberland Presbyterian Church more acceptable to the emotional, democratic frontiersmen than the orthodox Presbyterian Church.<sup>45</sup> The large immigration to Missouri from Kentucky and Tennessee following 1815 brought laymen and ministers of this faith. Even among the orthodox Presbyterians, there was a lack of unity, for ministers educated in Congregationalist Andover and those educated in Presbyterian Princeton quarreled over the special merits of their respective institutions.

Ministers who came from Philadelphia and places farther north, but especially from the New England states, might arouse suspicion as being Hartford Convention Federalists, and they were likely to have difficulty in adjusting themselves

<sup>40</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 84-95; *St. Louis Enquirer*, May 10, 1821.

<sup>41</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 90.

<sup>42</sup>Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, p. 366.

<sup>43</sup>Flint, *Recollections*.

<sup>44</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 91.

<sup>45</sup>Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, pp. 327-343.

to the less educated and more emotional West. Thus Salmon Giddings, sent out in 1816 by the Connecticut Missionary Society, was under suspicion at first,<sup>46</sup> although he proved to be a man of sterling common sense, and a quiet, patient, plodding, self-denying and faithful missionary. Timothy Flint, sent out with Giddings in 1816, was well educated, but not well fitted by temperament for missionary work on the frontier, for he lacked a sympathetic understanding of the crude but fundamentally sound characteristics of the frontiersmen.

Thus, the most outstanding Protestants were the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, all three outgrowths of democratic religious movements. The former two grew rapidly because of their appeal to emotional and physical activity, which were two very important assets for a religious sect among frontiersmen who were unsettled in habits, in mind, and in feeling. Until 1816, the Methodists and Baptists, early in the field, obtained a pre-eminence that the Presbyterians coming in at this time were never really able to challenge, because the doctrine and form of worship of both the Methodists and Baptists adapted themselves more happily to western life. The majority of the equality-worshipping frontiersmen found it difficult to accept the Calvinistic doctrine of election for the favored few. In time ministers of other sects came.

As Professor Beard says, these missionaries followed close on the heels of the "tree-girdling first settlers to save them from relapsing into barbarism" and "proclaimed a passionate gospel of hell-fire and salvation that moved the hardest drinkers, boldest fighters, and meanest sinners to repentance."<sup>47</sup> Although there was an occasional disorderly person among the ministers in Missouri,<sup>48</sup> the majority were plain, self-

<sup>46</sup>Missouri Gazette, April 6, 1816.

<sup>47</sup>Beard, Charles A., and Mary R., *The Rise of American Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 529.

<sup>48</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 216. McAnally tells of a certain Froe (?) who pretended to be a Methodist, or Baptist, according to the needs of the occasion. He made bills and gave notes he never redeemed, and had at least seven wives. Rev. John Scripps accused him publicly and the next morning Froe was on his way to Texas, the next refuge of the outcast. Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 152. Peck mentions one J. C., who was of

sacrificing,<sup>40</sup> honest, and spiritually-minded men. Though many of them were deficient in education and at times bigoted, some of them were able students of psychology and orators of no mean ability. They were temperamentally well qualified to minister to this crude, emotional frontier society and made a considerable contribution toward stabilizing society during the period from 1815 to 1828.

Most of the missionary impetus came after 1815, and consequently, the beginnings of church organization and the building of churches came at about the same time as that of statehood. Because of the sparse population, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians became itinerant preachers, or circuit riders, as the Methodists called them. Enduring considerable privation, these itinerant preachers traveled through the country wherever there were settlements. Usually, the preacher followed a "bridle trail," though at times he had to blaze his own trail through the virgin forest.<sup>41</sup> John Scripps, a Methodist missionary, on his way to Boon's Lick in 1816, waited to cross the prairies until night because they were infested with the dreaded green flies.<sup>42</sup> Sometimes the preacher was far from a cabin when nightfall came, but with a blanket thrown on a leaf or brush bed, a saddle for a pillow, and feet straight to the fire, any man could make himself comfortable.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, it was the preacher's intention to reach a cabin or tavern for the night. Here he could sleep a little more safely and comfortably, and at the same time ply his trade of saving the souls of men.

Among the squatter type of settler there was little interest in religion and so the missionary frequently did not receive

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doubtful standing among the Baptists in Kentucky, was disorderly, and, though reared a Quaker, lacked the honesty and truthfulness of that sect. *Missouri Gazette*, January 5, 1820: Rev. James Welch announced that Samuel Clark, posing as a Baptist missionary, was not one, for he had failed to pay \$100 he owed the Missionary Board, and he had been in jail. *Missouri Gazette*, September 23, October 14, October 21, 1815.

<sup>40</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 109. The customary salary was \$16 to \$20 per month in 1819, which was equal to the wages of a hired hand.

<sup>41</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 192.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>43</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 104-106.

a hearty welcome.<sup>53</sup> Usually, however, among the permanent settlers, the preacher was a welcome visitor, for one of the virtues of Missourians was hospitality. If there were no bed, the minister was happy to have a buffalo robe to throw down on the puncheon floor on which to sleep. Even those who kept a house of entertainment as a means of support seldom charged the preacher.<sup>54</sup> Once a minister ran into a gang of horse thieves. Having nothing to fear from a minister, they gave him the same respectful treatment he received in most other places.<sup>55</sup>

It was the itinerant preacher's hope to "gather" enough people to form an organization to carry on the work. Most of the preachers hoped to do more than this. An unexpected call by the preacher necessitated someone notifying the community. In the sparsely settled region, where there was no church, preaching was held in a cabin during the winter, and there must have been many disturbances, but the preacher and his rough listeners learned to ignore these. Camp meetings were held at "stands" in the open air during the summer.<sup>56</sup> The negroes were encouraged to take part in prayers and in the singing. The phenomenon of the "jerks"<sup>57</sup> appeared as a manifestation of being under "conviction." Frequently, in Missouri, religious conversion manifested itself by spasms,

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<sup>53</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 121-123. After the illiterate, unambitious squatters, living in squalor, gave way to a people owning their own homes and more religiously inclined, it was possible to organize a successful Bible class and Sabbath school. Some squatters near Boonville had not heard a preacher for twenty years. (pp. 147-49.)

<sup>54</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 118-119. If there were charges, the customary price in 1818 for supper, horsefeed, and a night's lodging was fifty cents.

<sup>55</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, pp. 172-183. John Scripps, a Methodist minister, stopped at an isolated cabin one night. He belled his horse, as was his custom. Later, hearing no sound, he proposed going out to look for the horse, which had grown up "on the wilds," for he knew it would never return should it once get away. But his host remonstrated and assured him the horse would return. Sure enough, men brought the horse back. Later Scripps learned he had been among horse thieves, who, however, would not steal a preacher's horse if they knew it.

<sup>56</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 123.

<sup>57</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 127. In one case these jerks lasted for hours and the men and women tried in vain to hold the girl. This was looked upon as a visible manifestation of the presence of the Lord, and led to many conversions.

cries, fallings, and the so-called "holy laugh."<sup>58</sup> In 1825, according to report, a camp meeting was held in Missouri by the Cumberland Presbyterians. Emotion must have reached a high pitch for there was much of "seeing heaven, seeing hell, shaking hands with Christ, etc." Peck said among ignorant people such excesses were frequent.<sup>59</sup> The following is a vivid description of the emotional scene of a camp meeting:<sup>60</sup>

The glare of the blazing camp fires falling on a dense assemblage. . . . and reflected back from long ranges of tents upon every side; hundreds of candles and lamps suspended among the trees, together with numerous torches flashing to and fro, throwing an uncertain light upon the tremulous foliage, and giving an appearance of dim and indefinite extent to the depths of the forest; the solemn chanting of hymns swelling and falling on the night wind; the impassioned exhortations; the earnest prayers; the sobs, shrieks, or shouts, bursting from persons under intense agitation of mind; the sudden spasms which seize upon scores, and unexpectedly dashed them to the ground; all conspired to invest the scene with terrific interest, and to work up the feelings to the highest pitch of excitement.

The camp meeting<sup>61</sup> brought together most of the inhabitants of the community and became practically an annual institution for emotional outlet and social intercourse. It was said:<sup>62</sup>

The ambitious and wealthy are there, because in this region opinion is still powerful, and they are there, either to extend their influence or that their absence may not be noted to diminish it. *Aspirants for office are there*, to electioneer and gain popularity.—Vast numbers are there for simple curiosity, and merely to enjoy a spectacle. The *young & beautiful* are there, with mixed motives, which it were best not severely to scrutinize. Children are there, their young eyes glistening with the intense interest of eager curiosity. The middle aged *fathers* and *mothers* of families are there, with sober views of people whose plans in life are fixed, waiting calmly to hear. Men and women of hoary hairs are there, with such thoughts, it may be hoped, as their eyes invite.—Such is the congregation consisting of thousands.

<sup>58</sup>Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 238-239. Flint says that in the region where such manifestations prevailed, the people usually lacked the capacity to be guided in moral and genuine social traits by either persuasion, reason, or even the gospel.

<sup>59</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 210.

<sup>60</sup>Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, p. 331.

<sup>61</sup>*Independent Patriot*, September 9, 1826; *Missouri Intelligencer*, August 15, 1828.

<sup>62</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, October 3, 1828, quoting Timothy Flint.

In spite of doctrinal disagreements, itinerant ministers of different sects sometimes traveled together in the interest of evangelizing Missouri,<sup>43</sup> just as Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians supported the Bible Society and other organizations, and just as Baptists and Presbyterians previously had worked together at times in Kentucky and Tennessee.<sup>44</sup>

In December, 1818, Peck started on a missionary trip to Boon's Lick, to which so many immigrants were hurrying. He followed the old Boon's Lick Trace. The trip was a hard one, and he was convinced that the Boon's Lick Trace, across the prairies, was no route for a missionary. He had day and night appointments ahead of him, and he planned to leave a permanent organization in as many places as possible. Food, which appeared plentiful, consisted of varied meats, corn-dodgers, or cakes, and coffee, and was usually appetizing, though now and then there was filth and poor cooking. Although many of the frontiersmen were crude, uneducated, and non-religious, it was not unusual to find intelligent and pious Christians in the scattered cabins, for the people coming into Boon's Lick at this time were the class of ambitious permanent settlers who pushed the squatters out.<sup>45</sup>

As Peck neared the Boon's Lick region in late December, cabins became more frequent. Twenty miles east of Franklin a Baptist church had been organized in 1817. The settlers

<sup>43</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 142.

<sup>44</sup>Holt, Albert C., "The Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (October, 1921), pp. 75-76.

<sup>45</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 125-133. At Femme Osage a Mite Society was formed, and Peck and Flanders Callaway, a son-in-law of Daniel Boone, rode 20 miles to the Callaway cabins on the banks of the Missouri. Peck preached and then rode 15 miles to James Stevenson's. Two young panthers graced the one room that answered for kitchen, dining hall and lodging room. One can imagine the pride with which Stevenson displayed scars on his arms and one side, left there by the teeth of a bear, which he had killed with his hunting knife. The next 20 miles was uninhabited, and Peck lost the path several times. Instead of arriving at noon as scheduled, it was sunset when he reached his destination. Nevertheless, the people were waiting, and so, though he had had neither breakfast nor dinner, he preached at once. The next morning his hostess gave him a sumptuous breakfast of corn cakes, venison, fresh pork, and fine flavored coffee. He was off before sunrise, to William Coals', who had "gathered a small church" the preceding June. Near Cote Sans Dessein, no exception was made for his calling; he paid the customary 50¢ for his night's lodging in a dirty, single-roomed cabin. For breakfast there was bush tea, flesh of hog, bear, deer, and elk—enough to feed a regiment, but it was cold and unpalatable.



here were described as "a respectable class of citizens, tolerably well informed, and enjoy gospel privileges to a greater extent than in most parts of the territory." He found five Baptist ministers and five churches,<sup>66</sup> and these had formed the historic Mount Pleasant Baptist Association.<sup>67</sup> Peck was preceded by John Scripps, the Methodist, who had already established a six-weeks' circuit.

Peck did not consider he was very successful because of the factionalism fostered by the presence of anti-missionary Baptists from Kentucky and Tennessee.<sup>68</sup> Among the anti-missionary Baptists was David McLain. When Peck asked McLain for aid to send missionaries to the Indians, McLain answered indignantly:<sup>69</sup>

I will give as much as any man, according to my means to buy powder and lead to kill them all, but I would not give one dollar for all attempts to Christianize them, as you call it.

Besides opposition of some Baptists to missionary work, many believed a minister should receive no monetary compensation for his work. Then, too, practically all the people in the Boon's Lick region in 1818 and 1819 were saving every penny for the purchase of government land, and so most of them failed to contribute anything to the minister and accepted the gospel as "without money and without price."<sup>70</sup>

At Chariton it was different. The preacher received a warm welcome from Duff Green, a "Baptist gentleman," who had come from Kentucky. Several "respectable" families lived here, and the minister was quite successful. He organized a Female Mite Society with a subscription list of \$35, and a Sabbath School, an auxiliary of the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union. Peck thought that this was the first Sabbath school organized west of St. Louis.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 138.

<sup>67</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, p. 146.

<sup>68</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 130-133.

<sup>69</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, pp. 136, 157; Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 149-150, says a comet seen at this time was considered by many as an omen of Indian war.

<sup>70</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 140.

<sup>71</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 143. It is generally conceded, however, that the first Sunday school in Missouri, possibly the first west of the Mississippi, was that established about 1807 by Mrs. Sarah Barton Murphy near the present town of Farmington, Missouri. (See: Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 376.)



Visiting the Salt River settlement the same year, Peck reported the spiritual life neglected. He said the preachers in the field were not in good standing with any denomination, and were doing more harm than good.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps these preachers were much like the people with whom they lived.

At the request of the Germans in Cape Girardeau county, Flint spent a year with them. Flint and other itinerant preachers, who had little sympathy for customs due to a difference in nationality, reported that these Germans were ignorant, bigoted, given to "swearing, drinking, rioting, and Sabbath breaking," and in short were lacking in good morals and decency and yet thought they could make up for this by devotion to some religious form. Thus the unsympathetic Flint failed to establish himself and the Presbyterian Church in this district.<sup>73</sup>

In the years before 1820, in St. Louis, Sunday was a day for the conducting of business and amusement rather than one of worship, and these days carried records of fightings and a riot of negro slaves.<sup>74</sup> St. Charles had horse races on Sunday.<sup>75</sup> In 1819, white men in the frontier town of Franklin paraded the streets on Sundays, played cards, and fought.<sup>76</sup> Everywhere on the frontier the Sabbath was much neglected and profaned, even by professors of religion, just as it had been in the territory before 1815, and, just as it was west of the Alleghanies following the Revolution.<sup>77</sup> It required time and effort to eradicate the evil.<sup>78</sup> As late as 1825, a grand jury of Jackson resisted pressure to bring an indictment for Sabbath breaking.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>72</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 161.

<sup>73</sup>Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 232-236; McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 219.

<sup>74</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 87-90; Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, p. 165.

<sup>75</sup>Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 121-137.

<sup>76</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, December 17, 1819.

<sup>77</sup>Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, p. 325.

<sup>78</sup>*Missouri Gazette*, February 15, 1821; article signed "A Friend of Industry."

<sup>79</sup>*Independents Patriot*, April 20, 1825, said that one member of the Grand Jury had lurked about his neighbor's negro quarters (for what purpose was not known) and had seen negroes hauling hay on a cart to feed the cattle, and also pushing up some log heaps which were burning in the meadow, near the hay stack. But there was no indictment, since there was no testimony that the slaves were compelled to work.

Flint arrived in St. Louis in 1816 where he found no Protestant organization, though there once was one. One of his first acts was to administer communion, but he found it difficult to meet the religious prejudices of a heterogeneous Protestant group.<sup>80</sup> In this, St. Louis was only typical, according to the experiences of Flint, for elsewhere in Missouri quarrelsome frontiersmen wrangled over religious doctrines. Each was inclined to insist that the order and form of worship be according to the custom of his particular sect. Bitter discussion arose over location of the church, choice of a preacher, and over doctrines.<sup>81</sup> One man vied with another to have the church located near his plantation because, among other reasons, of the hope that around it a village might spring up. At times this quarrel ended in the church not being built.<sup>82</sup> Some were anti-missionary. Others believed that ministers should preach without compensation. Wherever there were Methodists, a Presbyterian minister might be accused of being a Calvinist and of having preached that "hell is paved with infants' skulls." On the other hand, another group might accuse the minister of leading the people into the gulf of Arminianism. Then, too, at times, the Catholics seemed to claim prescriptive rights to the whole region by virtue of being first in the field.<sup>83</sup> If one added to the sects already mentioned, many would-be founders of new sects who erected their own standards in the wilderness,<sup>84</sup> one would have some idea of the complications of the religious problems within the State.

Flint, failing to attune himself to the emotional and unstable frontier, interpreted the very obvious fluctuations in interest in religion as a want of spiritual depth and sincerity, and as evidence of all degrees of pretension of religion which were followed by unhappy manifestations of the hollow-

<sup>80</sup> Flint, *Recollections*, p. 111.

<sup>81</sup> *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 24, 1828: "Some little notice having been given that a controversial sermon would be delivered by the Rev. Finis Ewing, on the day appointed (Sunday last) about fifteen hundred persons, it is computed, assembled."

<sup>82</sup> Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 111-113, 119-137.

<sup>83</sup> Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 140.

<sup>84</sup> Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 113-114.

ness of such pretensions.<sup>86</sup> Much to the despair of some of the preachers, all too often the people's idea of religion was a strenuous dose administered between long intervals of neglect.

After ten years of service on the frontier in Missouri and elsewhere, from 1816 to 1826, Flint's opinion was that<sup>87</sup>

Religion nowhere has much influence, unless its rules have some degree of uniformity, unless the associations of awe, of tenderness, and of piety, are established by frequent and long repetition. Hence it is, that the transient labours of itinerants, manifested in earnestness and exclamation, seem to operate on a region over which it passes like the flames of a stubble field. There is much appearance of flame and smoke, but the fire passes lightly over the surface, and in a few days the observer sees not a trace of the conflagration left. I did not flatter myself that my services were of much utility.

Besides the quarrels over doctrine and form, another serious obstacle in the way of successful missionary work was the ever shifting population, then characteristic of the whole West.<sup>87</sup> The following from the diary of John Scripps gives a vivid picture of the ever-moving population:<sup>88</sup>

Tuesday, October 15, rode to Bro. D. Hodge's. He has been some weeks at Boonslick, one hundred eighty miles higher up the Missouri River, preparing for the removal of his family thither. Wednesday, 16th, Bro. Thomas Hatton, Leader of a Class of thirty-nine members (eighteen were preparing to move to Boonslick) returned home today from that country, where he has been several weeks building a home to move to. Thursday, 17th, at B. Proctor's. At home all in a bustle, preparing for moving to Boonslick. Friday, 18th. At Bro. William Long's, Bonhomme, absent Boonslick, exploring the country, in anticipation of moving. At Bro. Oath's, been away six weeks in quest of new country. Bro. Richardson's gone with cattle to Boonslick, to remove.

McAnally said that the people of Missouri "were perhaps, less settled in their feelings—had more to excite and disturb them, and more to call their attention away from

<sup>86</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>87</sup>Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 273-274.

<sup>88</sup>Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 202-203. "Next to hunting, Indian wars, and the wonderful exuberance of Kentucky, the favorite topic is new countries. They talk of them. They are attached to the associations connected with such conversations. They have a fatal effect upon their exertions. . . . They only make such improvements as they can leave without reluctance and without loss."

<sup>89</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 189.

that most needful—than those of any other state or territory in all the West."<sup>89</sup> A minister would organize a church, establish a Sunday school, Bible class, Mite society, and other organizations, and think he had made a sure foundation, only to find he had built on shifting sand. When he returned on the next circuit, which might be a year later, the population had changed, the congregation had dwindled, and mayhap there was no longer organized work, and not much evidence of religious sentiment.<sup>90</sup>

Some ministers made themselves obnoxious in Missouri by taking sides in public discussions. Consequently, when the Constitutional Convention was called in 1820, there began a movement to bar preachers from membership in the legislature. One proponent of this plan gave as reasons that a preacher would have unusual advantage in electioneering because he had nothing else to do, that he would favor his particular denomination, that a really pious minister should devote himself only to the pure morality taught by Jesus, and that a minister would be sullied in a campaign where there was "lying, libelling, and back-biting."<sup>91</sup> Regardless of the above reasons there is little doubt that the ministers were barred quite largely because of their attack on slavery at the time when the question over the admission of Missouri had aroused the entire State and nation.<sup>92</sup>

Many of the ministers who came to Missouri were men of talent and for the most part exemplary men. Some were well educated in the classical learning of the time and some could even quote Greek. But more important than this, was

<sup>89</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, pp. 322-324. He believed the restlessness in Missouri was due to the class of adventurers who came in after 1804, to a shifting, mining population and finally "to the fact that in Missouri were the great Western Military posts and operations—that here were carried on the Gov't operations with divers tribes and nations of Indians—through here were the great Fur Company and Santa Fe operations—contributed largely to prevent the success of the Church."

<sup>90</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 119. He found a fine religious spirit in Bethel in 1818, but a portion of the church withdrew and formed a new organization in Jackson. Those who remained became a "selfish, lifeless, antislavery body." See also: Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>91</sup>*St. Louis Enquirer*, June 28, 1820.

<sup>92</sup>Shoemaker, Floyd C., *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*. See also: *Missouri Gazette* and *St. Louis Enquirer*, 1819-1821.

their ability to stir the emotions of men. According to Flint, a necessary qualification for the itinerant minister on the frontier was possession of "the electric eye, the thrilling tones, the unction, the feeling, the universal language of passion and nature, which is equally understood and felt by all people."<sup>93</sup> Ministers with the above talents were more successful than the intellectual type.<sup>94</sup>

The preachers already in the field were likely to be jealous of the missionaries because the latter were newcomers, appeared officious, tried to take over the work and reorganize it, and were likely to be critical of the training, creed, and even the morals of the local ministers.<sup>95</sup> The need for a better trained ministry, however, was unquestionable. A lack of knowledge of the meaning of ordinary English words was a serious handicap to these itinerant preachers in their attempt to interpret the Scriptures. Besides, a better trained ministry could have done more to raise the social standards while "saving the souls" of the people. Some of these men did study the Bible carefully, and prayerfully, and, being guided by plain common sense and deep reverence for the things of God, were a great social asset to this region, though they butchered the King's English.<sup>96</sup>

McAnally insisted that the backwoods missionary was the first teacher and civilizer who reached the backwoodsman. He said that <sup>97</sup>

<sup>93</sup>Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 115-117.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 183-185.

<sup>95</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 162. Later Peck stated frankly that he could see how the missionaries might have changed some of their acts and deportment, and so have escaped, or at least lessened, the opposition which grew up against them.

<sup>96</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 157: Peck said that many frontier preachers had no rule for the interpretation of the Scripture save fancy, or as some of them thought, "the spirit of God," taught them the meaning. Peck did acknowledge the ability of some of these illiterate local ministers. McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 189: Alexander McAllister was a mechanic, but soon attained a high position as a minister. "His strong mind, original power of thought, clear perception and cool judgment, soon made him the favorite champion of the cause he had espoused; and this combined with his indomitable energy, decision of character, and strict habits of study and business, placed him in the front ranks of the ministry, where he made a deep and lasting impression on the public mind."

<sup>97</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 405.

Wherever the missionary goes, domestic cleanliness whitens on his pathway. Religion is a great face-washer. Give a squalid people the Bible and favor them with a pastor's presence, and the use of soap and sand will commence at once greatly to increase. The man physically is as suddenly elevated by the presence of Christianity, as was St. Peter aroused by the touch of an angel.

Although the preceding may be true of the influence of some of the preachers, it seems quite likely that many preachers came out of homes with no more refinement than that of the frontiersmen they visited, and could exert little if any influence on the standard of living. The Methodist itinerant preacher's equipment consisted of a hymn book, Discipline and the Bible, saddle-bags, ax, and rifle. As a type, he was stalwart, brawny-fisted, and wore a hunting shirt just as did the men to whom he ministered. He smoked a pipe, and ate the food and wore the clothing that the people ate and wore. Only in that way could he hope to overcome the suspicions and win the confidence of the cabin folk.<sup>98</sup>

Many of the preachers, especially the Baptists, had an interest in the acquisition of land which was hardly secondary to their work as itinerant preachers. When Luke Williams<sup>99</sup> became a minister he could barely read and write, but his wife helped him to improve. They came to Missouri and settled on a small farm in Cooper county, where they lived in a log cabin, and he supported his family by farming and hunting. Of their clothing his son said:<sup>100</sup>

Father used to tan his leather in a trough and made our shoes himself. Mother and the girls spun and wove our clothing, and we raised our cotton and picked all the seed by hand. Many have been the nights after I came in tired and weary from plowing all day, that I have been soothed to sleep by the sweet hum of the spinning wheel. In addition to the cloth made, father killed a good many deer, and we dressed their hides and made clothing of them. I have often seen my father get up before an audience to preach with his leather hunting shirt on.

One Sunday morning, since there was no food in the house, Williams killed a deer and dressed it for breakfast, after which

<sup>98</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 405.

<sup>99</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, pp. 24, 247-249.

<sup>100</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, p. 156.

he went to church and his congregation of practical frontiersmen very naturally exonerated him for this desecration of the Sabbath. He traveled about preaching. Once he stopped at a neat farmhouse for the night. After his team was put up he sat by the door with his wagon whip. When he discovered people were gathering for a community dance, he secured permission to conduct a thirty-minute service before the dance. So convincing was he that there was no dance that night, and he later organized a Baptist church among these people. As a preacher, he received no monetary compensation. Perhaps a very vital reason for the belief of many frontiersmen that a preacher should not receive a salary was the fact that money was always scarce. This was particularly true in Missouri following the panic of 1819.

To improve what seemed deplorable religious and educational conditions, Peck urged the need of a seminary in Missouri to train school teachers and to aid preachers in the field. He had no sympathy with a mere emotional spree which carried with it no clear statement of Christian principles, and the practical application of these. He thought a preacher needed training in habits of thinking, in logical reasoning, in readiness of speech, in systematic arrangement of gospel truth, and in practical application of Christian duties. He thought a minister should have sufficient intellectual training to enable him to avail himself of the ideas and thoughts of others and to clothe these in his own words. In keeping with this conviction of the need of a trained ministry, schools were established by the Protestants which did improve the work of some of the ministers.<sup>101</sup>

The preachers extended their ministrations with the ever-advancing frontier, repeating many of their previous experiences, for all frontiers had much the same conditions. Among the Protestants, the Baptists were reputed to be the most numerous, followed by the Methodists, Presbyterians,<sup>102</sup> and there was an Episcopalian organization in St. Louis.<sup>103</sup> The

<sup>101</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, pp. 79-84.

<sup>102</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, November 26, 1822; December 24, 1822.

<sup>103</sup>*St. Louis Enquirer*, December 8, 1819.



Campbellites were coming in before the end of the period.<sup>104</sup> Besides these there were many others, for the frontier, isolated from older sections, bred many sects. One Methodist minister said that by 1833 Gasconade county had "every 'ism' peculiar to the West, except the Mormon, from the old-fashioned Baptist, that can do nothing up to the Carrier of the Keys of Heaven."<sup>105</sup> The fact that a minister's license to preach was taken from him did not deter him from continuing.<sup>106</sup>

More and more laymen in Missouri accepted a call to the ministry, and thus the work of evangelizing the State was conducted for the most part by Missouri-trained, or at least Western-trained men, and consequently, men who were under much the same influences as the laymen.<sup>107</sup> Spiritual growth, therefore, tended to be shaped by much the same influences that determined other social characteristics of the people. Ministers and congregations continued to wrangle over doctrines as they did over property rights and politics.<sup>108</sup> An illustration of this is seen in the experiences of the Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, which during the first twenty-five years of its existence had members withdraw because of a division over slavery, on the question of missions, on the Campbellite schism, and on Methodism, and yet the church as a body continued to exist.<sup>109</sup>

Since ministers were largely itinerant, outlying places could expect a pastoral call only very infrequently. Consequently, social services that could be performed only by a preacher had to wait for the coming of one. When the preacher made his regular circuit he would expect to christen the period's

<sup>104</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, p. 162; McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 332.

<sup>105</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 299. Flint and Peck and the newspapers also indicate that there were many sects.

<sup>106</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 299.

<sup>107</sup>McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 106.

<sup>108</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, January 1, 1825: The editor announced the policy of refusing the columns of his paper to theological questions, which indicates that there was some bitterness. *Missouri Intelligencer*, September 26, 1828: Finis Ewing, Cumberland Presbyterian minister, announced he would talk on Unitarianism, and since about 1500 came (*Missouri Intelligencer*, October 24, 1828), the courthouse was not large enough to hold them. Ladies were present.

<sup>109</sup>Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, p. 148.



accumulation of babies if he were a Presbyterian or Methodist; to marry the waiting couples, unless they had grown tired of waiting and sought the civil services of the more convenient justice of the peace; and to preach funeral sermons of those who had died and been interred during the interval since the last visit of the minister.<sup>110</sup>

Due to an aroused missionary spirit, Christian organizations spread with the growth of the population. It has been estimated that there were 533 church organizations in Missouri in 1810, when the population, including that of Arkansas, was 20,845, and that in 1820 there were 1,445 church organizations, when the population had reached 66,583.<sup>111</sup> During the decade of the twenties, many new congregations were organized, for the population grew rapidly after the temporary lull in migration at the opening of this period. On the ever-expanding frontier, religious services continued to be held in the cabins of settlers. Later, at the newly established county seat, one building often served for courthouse, school house, church, and dance hall.<sup>112</sup> In other words, it was a genuine social center. Gradually houses of worship were built. Save those of St. Louis, churches, like the cabins of the settlers, were usually of logs. In the summer the camp-meeting continued to be the great social event.

Stephen Hempstead's request for Bibles<sup>113</sup> for distribution in Missouri was responded to by the Philadelphia Bible Society. Led by Giddings, a Presbyterian, and Peck and Welch, Baptists, the leading citizens of St. Louis formed a Bible Society in 1819. Its purpose was to distribute Bibles to those who had none, for there were few in the country.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>110</sup>*Missouri Intelligencer*, November 20, 1824; *Independent Patriot*, May 7, 1824; *Missouri Republican*, February 7, April 15, 1828.

<sup>111</sup>Simmons, "The Rise and Growth of Protestant Bodies in Missouri Territory," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (April, 1928), p. 302.

<sup>112</sup>*St. Louis Enquirer*, December 2, 1820; *Missouri Intelligencer*, November 18, 1825, December 28, 1826, October 24, 1828. Duncan, *History of the Baptists in Missouri*, p. 174. As late as 1839, three Baptist ministers, Fielding Wilholte, Thomas Fristoe and Alton F. Martin (p. 177), stopped in Carrollton and held a meeting in the log courthouse. One man had told them they probably could not hold a meeting, for Carrollton was called "The Devil's Headquarters."

<sup>113</sup>*Missouri Gazette*, July 21, 1819.

<sup>114</sup>*Missouri Gazette*, January 8, 1818.

During the year 1820 the Society distributed 132 Bibles and Testaments.<sup>115</sup> In the same year a Bible Society was organized at Jackson.<sup>116</sup> In 1820, this organization sponsored a Fourth of July address on the need of Bibles.<sup>117</sup> The work of the Bible societies continued throughout the formative period of the twenties.<sup>118</sup> By 1825 there were ten Bible societies which were supported by such prominent laymen as Thomas Hart Benton, John O'Fallon, James H. Peck, Charles Hempstead, and H. L. Hoffman.<sup>119</sup> The organization of Bible societies is an evidence of interdenominational cooperation, which was the spirit that most of the missionaries from the East brought into the State. Apparently, before the end of this decade there had developed a considerable opposition to the centralizing tendencies of these organizations.

Another field of organized religious effort in Missouri was that of the Sabbath school. Not only were religious ideals inculcated, but here were taught the rudiments of reading. In St. Charles, for many of the children, the Sabbath school was the only opportunity to obtain an education, and in this rude way they imbibed their intellectual, social, moral, religious, and some added, their political ideals of the future.<sup>120</sup>

Thus by 1828, Missouri had the beginnings of the necessary religious organization to give spiritual sustenance to a rapidly growing population.<sup>121</sup> Religion adjusted itself to the surroundings, and made what civilizing contribution it could.

<sup>115</sup>*St. Louis Enquirer*, February 10, 1821. It also had on hand Bibles in different languages.

<sup>116</sup>*Missouri Herald* (Jackson), August 13, September 18, 1819. Among the officers was Alexander Buckner, who later became a United States Senator.

<sup>117</sup>*Missouri Herald*, July 8, 1820.

<sup>118</sup>*St. Louis Enquirer*, February 10, 1821; *Missouri Intelligencer*, September 18, November 6, 1824; August 19, August 26, 1825: Bible societies were established at Jackson, Boonville, Fayette and in Cooper county. *Missouri Intelligencer*, September 18, 1824: Franklin had a Female Bible Society.

<sup>119</sup>*Missouri Republican*, October 24, 1825; *Independent Patriot*, November 1, 1826; *Missouri Intelligencer*, December 19, 1828.

<sup>120</sup>*St. Louis Enquirer*, April 10, 1820; *The Missourian*, August 15, 1822. The *Missouri Republican* of July 11, 1825, again eulogized the work of the Sunday school. At the Sunday school, children who had no other opportunity were learning to read and were at the same time being "initiated into the doctrine of Christianity."

<sup>121</sup>Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 118-119. McAnally, *History of Methodism in Missouri*, p. 335: The Methodist Conference in Fayette in 1828 agreed to support a Sunday School Union, Bible Society and Tract Society, and revived the Conference Missionary Society, but objected to the use of the word "American" for fear it might mean union of church and state.

In religion Missourians manifested some of their most obvious traits, for there was the same crudeness, quarrelsomeness, individualism, aggressiveness, and competitiveness; yet there was the fundamental moral and spiritual soundness that was characteristic in other forms of social life. Their worship was crude; they wrangled over matters of doctrine and form; the extreme individualism made it difficult to maintain permanent religious organizations, and religious sects competed to increase their membership; but the people who manifested religious preferences were interested in moral and spiritual betterment. Nevertheless, religious interest fluctuated among these emotional, restless frontiersmen, and so for this reason as well as others, it is very difficult to measure how potent religious influences were on the frontiersmen who formed the Jackson men in 1828.

*(To be continued)*

**LETTERS OF GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM TO  
JAMES S. ROLLINS**

EDITED BY C. B. ROLLINS

**PART IV**

LETTERS: JUNE 6, 1859—JUNE 29, 1861

Dusseldorf Prussia June 6 1859

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

After quite a fair weather voyage across the Atlantic I reached this city safely about a week since. I found Eliza and Clara and Horace all well. Your kind letter of May 10 came to hand a day or two after, having been promptly forwarded from New York. And to day I received letters from Doctor Thomas of Columbia, and brother John of Kansas [City] of a still later date, giving encouraging accounts of the condition both of Mr Thomas and Mrs Moore. We flatter ourselves with the hope that we may soon hear of their complete restoration to health.

When I left Kansas City Mr Thomas was in usual health. Being desirous of making the most advantageous investment of what funds I had in possession, I left with him thirty five hundred dollars to be loaned out at interest upon real estate security. The Babtist society in Kansas City erected a large church, and expended on it about \$6,000. They still wanted \$2000 to complete it, and the trustees proposed to pay 15 per cent for the use of that sum, and place a deed of trust upon the building for security. Regarding it a safe arrangement I authorized Mr Thomas to enter into it, but Brother John tells me that the matter was not consummated when his fathers health gave way, although he thinks the church had received about a thousand dollars upon the personal security [of one] of its most reliable members. I have

a receipt from Mr Thomas for the whole amount which I left in his hands, this I left in Columbia with Mr Prewitt.

If Mr Thomas should continue long in his present condition, it will of course become necessary that some competent person should be appointed to take charge of his affairs. Brother John Thomas, being upon the ground, might be perhaps able, with proper legal advice to manage them in a manner most satisfactory to the parties interested.

You will confer a great favor upon us all if you should, in case of such a contingency, find it convenient to tender to Brothers James & John a word of advice as to the best course to be pursued.

Eliza and myself will set out for Belgium tomorrow morning, in search of a proper French School for Clara and Horace. They both speak and write German very well, and have made good progress in French, but in order to speak the latter they must be where the language is in common use. If we find a school to please us, we think it best for them to remain a year longer in Europe in which time they will have full command of these important languages. We expect to place them either in Liege or Brussels, the schools of both have been highly commended to us.

In the course of ten or twelve days I expect to proceed to Berlin in order to make the necessary studies for the portrait of the Baron von Humbolt. I am assured that there will be no difficulty in finding portraits of him there. I will make an original picture in all except the head and intend to place him in his study, engaged upon his last great work, and surrounded by his favorite authors. The great man left the world on the very day that I reached St Louis to be honored with a commission to paint his portrait.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>In May, 1859, the Mercantile Library Association of St. Louis commissioned Bingham to paint the portrait of the Baron von Humboldt. The "last great work" of von Humboldt here referred to is *Kosmos. Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung*. 5 vols. (Stuttgart und Tübingen, J. G. Cotta, 1845-62.)

I have a letter from Gen Cass<sup>3</sup> to our Minister in Berlin,<sup>3</sup> requesting him to use his influence to procure me all the facilities necessary to the accomplishment of the object in view. I have also a letter from the Prussian Minister residing at Washington.<sup>4</sup>

I very much regret to learn from your letter that the great swindle practiced upon yourself has been so artfully contrived as to give you such slender hopes of obtaining redress. The success of such rascality demonstrates the propriety of a future Hell. In *this world* every honest man must submit to be robbed, by Knaves, of at least half his earnings, sometimes of all.

As soon as we return from Belgium I will write to you again and give you a more complete knowledge of our plans for the summer in the event that they are not broken up by bad news from home.

Tell brother James that I will write to him in a few days, and that he must write to his mother and inform her of my safe voyage across the Atlantic.

Eliza received your great favor of last winter, but a long time after date. She says you may expect a long letter from her before a great while. She joins me in love as do also Clara and Horace to Cousin Mary yourself and all the dear family.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

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<sup>3</sup>Lewis Cass (1782-1866), soldier, diplomat, statesman. Schoolmate of Daniel Webster. Secretary of War in Jackson's cabinet, minister to France (1836-1842), U. S. senator, secretary of state in Buchanan's cabinet (1857-1860), which office he resigned upon the president's refusal to re-enforce the forts at Charleston. In his famous "Nicholson letter" of December, 1847, he made what was probably the earliest enunciation of the doctrine of "popular sovereignty." (*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. III, pp. 562-564.)

<sup>3</sup>Joseph Albert Wright (1810-1867), governor of Indiana, congressman and diplomat. Minister of the United States to Prussia, from 1857 to 1861, and again from 1865 to 1867.

<sup>4</sup>Baron Gerolt, minister resident from Prussia to the United States, 1849-1868.

Jefferson City Dec. 16. 1859

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dr. Sir

As the opposition members of the Legislature have held two meetings in reference to the conventions proposed to be held here on the 28th I deem it likely that you would be pleased to be informed of the result, especially as it is as satisfactory as could have been anticipated from previous indications. *Outsiders* having been invited to be present and participate in the deliberations, our Revd father T. M. Allen<sup>5</sup> and several others "pitched in," myself in the number.

The first meeting was held on Wednesday evening, Gen Watkins<sup>6</sup> was called to the Chair, and after some remarks from himself and several others, coinciding with him in opinion, it could clearly be seen that they were skared by the meeting in St Louis, and for openly repudiating and "killing off" the convention proposed to be held here on the 28th. The meeting adjourned at a late hour, without reaching any conclusion. A committee however was appointed by the Chairman to report resolutions to the adjourned meeting held last night. The expressions of opinion which had been elicited from a majority of those who formed the Committee, led many of us to believe that it would become

<sup>5</sup>Thomas M. Allen (1797-1871), a pioneer minister of the Disciples in Kentucky and Missouri and prominent in the councils and activities of the Christian Church. He was instrumental in bringing about the union (1832) between the followers of Barton Stone and those of Alexander Campbell. Allen came to Boone county in 1836, where he was a man of consequence and power. He was an intimate friend of my grandfather and father and exerted much influence in securing the location of the University of Missouri in Boone county in the fight of 1839, and was a liberal subscriber to the fund of \$117,921. He was a member of the first board of curators of the institution. Allen was also one of the first advocates in the State of equal educational advantages for women, and one of the founders of Christian College in Columbia. An interesting incident in the life of Allen occurred when he was a young man in Kentucky. He was engaged to be married, and one day when he was riding with his fiancée along a country road, they sought shelter under a tree from a sudden thunder storm. A bolt of lightning struck the tree, killed the young lady, the horse on which she was riding, and paralyzed Allen's right arm, an injury from which he never fully recovered.

<sup>6</sup>Nathaniel W. Watkins (1796-1876), a half-brother of Henry Clay, was a prominent lawyer of Southeast Missouri. A member of the first session of the Missouri State Convention in 1861. Later appointed by Governor Jackson a brigadier-general in the Missouri State Guard. Served as vice-president of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875.

necessary to oppose the report, and at the request of Guitar, he being much engaged, I drew up a brief preamble and resolutions to be presented as a substitute, should the apprehended contingency occur.

It did occur. The report was made by Hardin of Callaway, and embraced expressions in regard to the meeting in St Louis, the proposed meeting to be held here on the 28th, and the qualifications and fitness of the Hon Ed. Bates for the Presidency. The expression in regard to Mr Bates was entirely satisfactory to all. But as those in reference to the meeting in St Louis, and the one proposed to be held here, were decidedly condemnatory, they were objected to, as I was glad to perceive, by a large majority of the meeting. Hardin refused to consent to any modification, and Guitar proposed his substitute. Had the vote been taken it would have been accepted by a very decided majority, but at the request of Ewing of Lexington, who was present and participating in the proceedings, he withdrew it, and accepted in its place a modification of Hardins report, which struck out that portion disapproving in express terms, the conventions. The report, having its fangs thus drawn, was adopted with very little opposition, Hardin alone withdrawing from the meeting. It was the general verbal understanding among the members of the Legislature, when the meeting adjourned, that they might privately communicate to their constituents such advice as they deemed proper in regard to the proposed convention at this place.

It is believed that very few delegates if any will be in attendance except from St Louis, and that a convention to be held at a more appropriate season may be called if necessary. Your friends communicated the fact of your indisposition to make the race for Governor under any circumstances, and this leaving our old friend Wilson, alone in the field, it is thought that a general expression from County Meetings in his favor, may render a conventional nomination for Gov. unnecessary.

He is, as you may suppose under the circumstances, all right, and not in favor of driving from his support any *legal* vote, whether of Abolitionists Black Republicans, Dutch,



Irish, or even *old Nick*, should he appear in the guise of a qualified voter. I have no doubt but Hardin will go to the *Nationals* and it may be that he will take with him one or two others, I think not more. The friends of Bates regard his unqualified endorsement by the opposition members of the Legislature as an important achievement in his behalf. Let me hear from you soon, my love to all.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

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Jefferson City Dec. 25, 1859

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dr. Sir

I have received a letter from our brother John P Thomas of Kansas [City] expressing great concern in regard to the precarious condition, in respect to title, of a large Store house, constituting the most valuable portion of his fathers estate in that City.

The building in question is valued at \$12,000 and is at present paying a rent of \$1800 per annum, It was erected by Mr Thomas and Thomas H. Swope,<sup>7</sup> and is now the joint property of Mr Thomas' estate and the latter gentleman. The deed to the ground, however, is held by Swope, who refuses to convey a title to the estate of Mr Thomas until a ballance, which he claims as due from Mr Thomas, of some \$1800, is paid. As you will percieve by the notice of the Marshal, which I enclose, the entire property is now in danger of being sold to the highest bidder to satisfy an execution in favor of the original holder of the ground, and against Swope. This execution, I am inclined to think, is the result of the management of Swope, who desires under a forced sale for Cash, to get possession, at a low rate, of the entire property. He is a large proprietor in Kansas City. The sale would have taken place according to the notice, had it not been

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<sup>7</sup>Thomas Hunton Swope (1827-1909), came from Danville, Kentucky, to Kansas City in 1857. Became a prominent business man and philanthropist. He gave Swope Park, 1,354 acres of land, to the people of Kansas City.

prevented by the timely interference of John Thomas who succeeded in having it postponed until April next.

He writes to me that it is all important to the interest of the estate, to raise the amount due to Swope, and secure a title from him, before the time set for the sale shall arrive, and tells me that, if I can, by any means, pay into his hands the sum of \$1800 for this purpose, he will perfect the title and transfer it to me, in consideration for said sum, and \$3500.00 with interest thereon, due me from the estate.

I cannot raise the sum by the time specified unless I can borrow it. Aware of the heavy losses which you have sustained during the past year, I cannot think of calling upon you for such a favor, but you may perhaps be able to assist me in obtaining it from some other source. As the property yields a handsome rent, with a basement and several rooms yet unoccupied, I can very well afford, in the event that I secure a title to half of it, to pay a good interest, say 10 percent, or more if necessary, for the sum required for this purpose, and guarantee its payment by a lien, or deed of trust upon the property. By the meeting of our next legislature I will be able to pay the sum, without difficulty, from the proceeds of the portraits for the State. If you know of any funds, any where, which can be obtained upon such security as I propose, you will confer a great obligation if you can direct and assist me in procuring it. I shall remain in Jefferson perhaps a week longer, after which I will start eastward, let me hear from you before I leave. Nothing of much importance has transpired here, since I wrote to you after our Caucus. All the American and Whig members have signed the endorsement and recommendation of Bates,<sup>8</sup> except Hardin, Jones of Marion, and Hudgens. They appear much moderated,

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<sup>8</sup>This launched the Bates-for-president movement in Missouri. Bates was a Free-soil Whig from a border state, and his supporters thought his nomination would conciliate many and avert secession. Although the Missouri delegation to the Republican nominating convention at Chicago in 1860 went instructed for Bates, Bates afterward explained that it was not with the expectation on his or the delegation's part that he would be nominated, but was for the purpose of preventing, if possible, the nomination of an eastern candidate. After appointing Seward secretary of state, Lincoln gave Bates his choice of any other cabinet position. Bates chose the attorney-generalship and was the first cabinet officer to be selected from west of the Mississippi river. He resigned on November 24, 1864.

and may yet come in. I have read with much satisfaction your exposition and *extinction* of Stone<sup>9</sup> in the last Statesman. Soon or late, retribution is certain to overtake the wicked. Guitar deserves great credit for the tact which he has exercised in the election of the new board of Curators. It is to be hoped that they will avoid the errors of their predecessors, and secure a president and faculty who will redeem the blasted credit of the University,<sup>10</sup> and place it upon an elevation beyond the reach of demagogues. Please call upon Eliza and Clara as often as you can make it convenient during my absence. My love to Cousin Mary and the Children.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

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Washington City Jan. 9, 1860

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dr Sir

I received your favor of Dec 27th before I left Jefferson, and am truly obliged to you for the releif which it gave to my fears in regard to our interests in Kansas City.

Knowing but little of financial affairs and hearing much of the tightness of the money market, I really did not know where the needed amount could be obtained on any terms,

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<sup>9</sup>This refers to a controversy between my father and Caleb S. Stone.

<sup>10</sup>In 1855 the affairs of the University had fallen into such condition that the legislature appointed a committee to investigate them. B. Gratz Brown, a member of the General Assembly, was the chairman of this committee, which came to Columbia in 1855 charged with authority to make a thorough investigation of the institution. The report of the committee represented such an unsatisfactory condition that the legislature declared all positions in the faculty vacant, which terminated President Shannon's administration in 1856. Shannon was succeeded by W. W. Hudson, professor of mathematics, natural philosophy and astronomy, whose death June 14, 1859, closed a satisfactory and progressive administration. Hudson had been with the University from its beginning, having come prior to its first president, John Hiram Lathrop, with whom Hudson had been a classmate at Yale. At the time Bingham writes, there was no president of the University; Professor G. H. Matthews presided as chairman of the faculty.

and your assurance that it could be borrowed, by your friendly assistance, in Columbia, came fully up to all that I could have expected. Mindful as I am, by sad experience, of the uncertainty of life, I could not permit you to take such a risk in my behalf, without fully securing you by a deed of trust upon the property or such lien as you may dictate.

You will perceive by the papers, that up to this date, no advance whatever has been made towards the organization of the House of Representatives. The "Nationals" are sadly exercised, They scold, coax, and Curse by turns. The "*Nigger*", John Brown,<sup>11</sup> *Helpers* book,<sup>12</sup> and the "irrepressible conflict"<sup>13</sup> are literally worn into tatters, without the slightest visible impression upon the "Black Republican"<sup>14</sup> ranks which, in defiance of all the assaults of the Chivalry continue to present an unbroken front upon every ballot. Of course, the cost of brandy toddies and other luxuries, which members of Congress are wont to indulge in, will not permit such a nonpaying contest to last forever, and each day it is rumored that something decisive may be expected the next.

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<sup>11</sup>John Brown (1800-1859), American abolitionist of the extreme radical type. He became a public character in the struggle of the free-soil men to control Kansas. He was hanged December 2, 1859, for his seizure of the National Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, a preliminary step to freeing the slaves in Virginia. It is an interesting coincidence that Colonel Robert E. Lee, later commander of the Confederate forces in the Civil war, was in charge of Brown's execution. Brown has been equally praised and condemned. Emerson called him a "saint" and said "his martyrdom . . . will make the gallows glorious like the cross." George W. Curtis said that he was "not buried but planted. He will spring up a hundred-fold . . . the rope that hanged him had two ends—one around the neck of a man, the other around the system of slavery." Lincoln declared that Brown's violence, bloodshed and treason could not be excused. Seward said Brown's execution was "necessary and just." (Villard, Oswald G., *John Brown*, pp. 563-565.)

<sup>12</sup>*The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*, by Hinton Rowan Helper (1829-1909), published in 1857. I own a copy of this book. It infuriated the South as much as or more than Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Helper, a North Carolina poor white, wrote with all the bitterness of his class, and attacked slavery, not as a friend of the slave, but from a conviction that the institution was demoralizing to the non-slave-holding whites of the South and ruinous to their interests. His statistics, though not always accurate, are in the main correct and unanswerable.

<sup>13</sup>The famous phrase used by Wm. Henry Seward (1801-1872), in a speech at Rochester, N. Y. in October, 1858, in which he spoke of the antagonism between freedom and slavery as an "irrepressible conflict."

<sup>14</sup>"Black" because of the Republicans' supposed fondness for the negroes as shown in the party's platform.

The report this evening is, that Sherman<sup>15</sup> will gracefully retire from the contest tomorrow, in an eloquent and patriotic speech, and that Gilmore, an old Clay whig of North Carolina will be elected Speaker by the American and Republican vote.<sup>16</sup> Such a result would be calculated to remove much of the Southern prejudice against the Republican party, and tend to consolidate the entire opposition in the approaching presidential Campaign, but I can scarcely hope for its accomplishment.

Your reputed bed-fellow, Frank Blair, reached us in safety, day before yesterday, looking none the worse after his single handed and reckless onslaught upon the Philistines in the Senate Chamber at Jefferson City. I was there, at the time, and witnessed the operation, and though a disinterested spectator, I could not avoid being intensely pained by the unmerciful manner in which he excoriated the "Nationals" in general and the St Louis delegation in particular. He requests me to say to you, that you must write him a long

<sup>15</sup>When the Thirty-Sixth Congress met December 5, 1859, a speakership contest began. John Sherman and Galusha A. Grow were the Republican candidates. Immediately after the first vote, John B. Clark, member of Congress from Missouri, introduced a resolution which created a most bitter controversy. It was to the effect that no member of the House who had endorsed Helper's book, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*, was fit to be speaker of the House. Both Sherman and Grow had signed a recommendation of the book, and the endorsement of this anti-slavery volume lost Sherman the speakership. The speakership contest made the book famous and gave it an enormous circulation. (Burton, Theodore E., *John Sherman*, pp. 61-64.)

In a letter from John Sherman, written December 24, 1859, to his brother, William Tecumseh Sherman, who at that time was Superintendent of the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy at Alexandria, Louisiana, Sherman says: "... You ask why I signed the recommendation of the Helper Book. It was a thoughtless, foolish, and unfortunate act. I relied upon the representation that it was a political tract to be published under the supervision of a committee of which Mr. Blair, a slaveholder, was a member. I was assured that there should be nothing offensive in it, and so, in the hurry of business in the House, I told Morgan, a member of the last Congress, to use my name. I never read the book, knew nothing of it, and now cannot recall that I authorized the use of my name. Everybody knows that the ultra sentiments in the book are as obnoxious to me as they can be to any one, and in proper circumstances I would distinctly say so, but under the threat of Clark's resolution, I could not, with self-respect, say more than I have.

"Whether elected or not, I will at a proper time disclaim all sympathy with agrarianism, insurrection, and other abominations in the book...." (*Century Magazine*, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (November, 1892), p. 90.)

<sup>16</sup>William Pennington (1796-1862), ex-governor of New Jersey, was elected speaker.

letter, giving your views in full in regard to the best mode of uniting the entire opposition in Missouri for the approaching struggle, and that, should you thus gratify him, he will unbosom himself to you in a reply of equal length. I went with him, to day, to the house of his brother-in-law, Capt Lee<sup>17</sup> of the Navy, who has in possession the head of Gen. Jackson painted by Sully<sup>18</sup> when the old hero was in the prime and vigor of life. I think it suits my design admirably, and as it is kindly placed at my service, I will make a careful copy of it, as soon as I can find a suitable place to work in. I will have my election pictures here in a few days, and will endeavor to dispose of them to the Library Committee of Congress, though such is the depleted state of the treasury, that my hopes of success are not very sanguine at present. Should you see proper to give *honest* Caleb another dig over the Lathrop correspondence you must be certain to enclose your article to me, as it is a rich treat, even to a benevolent heart, occasionally to see an old sinner suffer the recoil of his own malignity. I will endeavor to be back in Missouri by the 1st of Feb. if possible. I wrote to Eliza on yesterday. My love to all.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

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Independence Sept. 15 1860

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

I have been notified by the Bank in Columbia that the term for which I had been favored with the accommodation, through your endorsement last Spring, has expired. As my reliance, for the means of payment, was entirely upon the sum to be received for the State pictures of Clay and Jackson,

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<sup>17</sup>Samuel Phillips Lee (1812-1897), married Elizabeth Blair, a sister of Frank P. Blair.

<sup>18</sup>Thomas Sully (1783-1872), American artist born in England. He was a pupil of Gilbert Stuart and later of Benjamin West. Sully painted the famous portrait of Andrew Jackson from which Bingham made his well-known copy.

I trust you had no difficulty in procuring for me a renewal of the accommodation.

I have just completed by far the most difficult work of the two, the equestrian portrait of Jackson, and will proceed with the portrait of Clay as soon as I can receive some materials which I have ordered from New York.

My portrait of Jackson will be pronounced by connoisseurs and the public, immeasurably superior to any similar work in the United States, the great Statue at Washington, by Clark Mills,<sup>19</sup> not excepted. The window of my Studio commands the main avenue leading from Kansas City towards New Mexico, through which thousands of horses oxens and mules are almost daily passing, and I have thus had an opportunity for observation by which I have been able to make the Charger of the Old Hero as near perfection as possible. The jockeys who attended our County Fair last week all admit that he would have taken the premium from any animal in the ring. But however perfect in symetry attitude and muscular development the horse may be regarded, the Spectator will perceive, at a glance, that the still nobler rider fully maintains his proper prominence as the chief object of attraction, and that the single spirit of the conquerer of the veterans of Wellington<sup>20</sup> manifests itself in all the subordinate elements of the picture.

I percieve that you go into Congress as the old Dutch Miller, who took too much toll, went into Heaven, by a "tam tight squeeze." Notwithstanding the defeat of Orr, I still feel certain that you would have done better in the race for Governor, and would have beaten Claib several thousand votes.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Clark Mills (1810-1883), sculptor, pioneer bronze founder. His equestrian statue of Jackson, dedicated in January, 1853, on the 38th anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, stands in Lafayette Square across from the White House in Washington, D. C.

<sup>20</sup>This refers to Jackson's defeat of the British at New Orleans, January 8, 1815.

<sup>21</sup>Claiborne F. Jackson, a Douglas Democrat, was elected governor of Missouri in 1860. His majority over Sample Orr, the Constitutional Union candidate, was 7,863. Bingham, realizing that Jackson had long been prominent in Missouri politics and that Sample Orr was relatively obscure and the nominee of a new party, felt, no doubt, that 7,863 votes was a small majority and might have been overcome by a more popular and better known opponent.



I am still fully confirmed in the opinion that the Republicans will triumph in the presidential election, in despite of all coalitions that may be formed against them. I have been, as you perhaps know, co-operating with the Bell-Everetts,<sup>22</sup> for the purpose of saving our State from the toils of Squatter Sovereignty, but in doing this I have advocated only the principles of Clay Jefferson and Madison upon the subject of Slavery, and these are endorsed fully by the Republican party.

Should Bell, in any contingency, succeed, we will have a good President, and no man will have reason to blush for having advocated his cause. Should the Republicans fail in diverting a large vote from his support, he will certainly carry our State,<sup>23</sup> but I cannot see the shadow of a chance for him in the vote of the Nation, though I think it likely he will run next to Lincoln.<sup>24</sup>

I look forward to the election of Lincoln with far more hope than apprehension, and believe that his administration will allay the present sectional Strife by demonstrating to the people of the Southern States that the large majority of their Northern brethren are willing to concede to them every thing to which they are clearly entitled under the Constitution.

I am here for the present painting two or three portraits, but will return to Kansas [City] next week. We are all well. My love to Cousin Mary and the children.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

P. S. let me hear from you

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<sup>22</sup>John Bell and Edward Everett were the presidential and vice-presidential nominees of moderate men, most of them former Whigs. They called their party the Constitutional Union Party, and their platform was "The Constitution of the Country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." But the time for moderation had passed, the slavery question could not be settled by ignoring it; and Bell secured the electoral votes of only three states, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia.

<sup>23</sup>There were 165,518 presidential votes cast in Missouri in 1860, and of these Douglas received 58,801; Bell 58,372; Breckenridge 31,317; Lincoln 17,028. (Switzler, Wm. F., *History of Missouri*, p. 297.)

<sup>24</sup>Over the nation, Lincoln received about 1,900,000; Douglas 1,400,000; Breckenridge 850,000; Bell 600,000. (Hart, A. B., *Essentials in American History*, p. 403.)



Kansas City Nov 27 1860

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

Your very acceptable favor of the 19 reached me last night. I had been intending to write to you for some weeks, but had been putting it off from time to time, as all my daylight was appropriated to work upon my pictures. Our circumstances at this particular juncture are such as leave me very little leisure. Not being disposed to increase our indebtedness, and being the only member of our household in a condition to earn any money, I have been compelled occasionally to take temporary leave of "Old Hal" and "old Hickory" to provide the wherewithall to feed and clothe us. John is yet afflicted with sore eyes and will not likely be sufficiently restored for business for some months to come. Eliza has a few music pupils, but fortunately not such a number as to require that unremitting attention which she was compelled to bestow upon the larger class which she had in Columbia, and her health is consequently better this fall than it has been for many years. She regrets that she was compelled to part with cousin Laura and Molly, and also and more especially with Bingham and Sally.<sup>28</sup> She often speaks of them and the flattering progress they were making when she left them. I have been now for some weeks constantly engaged upon my portrait of Clay and expect with good luck to have it completed in about three weeks more. I feel very confident that neither of the portraits will fall behind the expectations of my most sanguine friends. I think they will perhaps surpass both the Washington and Jefferson, as far as they surpass similar works to be found elsewhere in our Country. These large works I find better adapted to my powers than the small cabinet pictures upon which I had been previously employed. Should I be so fortunate as to get a commission from Congress I have no fear that I will be unable to rival any work which they are likely to obtain

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<sup>28</sup>Three of my sisters and a brother, some of her music pupils while she was living in Columbia.

from other quarters. I desire to have these portraits at Jefferson at the beginning of the Session of the Legislature, and to fire the Hickory boys by putting up the portrait of Jackson on the eighth of January. You must be there to make a speech. With your assistance and my embodiment of the spirit of the old Hero, I think there will be no difficulty in getting a commission for Old Bullion. I agree with you that the present aspect of political affairs is somewhat alarming. If South Carolina with two or three other States shall secede, I do not see how a civil war can be avoided unless the authorities of the General Government shall shrink from the performance of their duty. I like the spirit you manifest in Old Boone. There are no manly Statesmen I fear in this portion of our State who have the Capacity and courage to direct the public sentiment aright. our politicians however, like to associate with majorities and if the Union Spirit shall be fully aroused in other portions of the State it will have an abundant support here. I trust the genuine remnant of the old Whig party united with the Douglass Democrats and Republicans will be strong enough in the Legislature to keep our State in its true position of Loyalty to the Union. If South Carolina can only be permitted through some halfway constitutional expedient to *Slough off* the Nation will be infinitely relieved thereby, and I trust some means may be devised by which it can be accomplished with the consent of all parties.

As my candle and paper are both about giving out I must bid you good night. Eliza Clara and all join in love to Cousin Mary and the children let us hear from you soon.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

[*Postscript written in margin*]

I rejoice to learn that you are recovering your strength and trust that your health may be firmly reestablished.

Kansas City Dec. 9 1860<sup>26</sup>

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

As you complained in your last, and perhaps justly, of my long silence, I have concluded, like an honest man, to bring up arrears, and if possible cause a ballance to stand to my credit. I wrote to you two weeks ago, chiefly upon the subject of Art and my present efforts therein; this letter, therefore, shall be dedicated to politics, that everlasting theme upon which, as a people, we become periodically stark mad. Such is preeminently our condition at the present time, and unless reason shall speedily resume her sway, I agree with you, that all the combined efforts of those who retain their sanity will not be sufficient to prevent us from going to the Devil.

I cannot think that the *finale* of your County meeting was at all creditable to old Boone. She is either somewhat effected with the prevailing disorder in the upper Story, or looking to the speedy clearing up of the present storm she deems it wise to preserve her mule-raising condition by keeping on hand a few thorough bred Jackasses . . .

I received the Presidents message<sup>27</sup> this morning. It speaks some plain truths in a plain manner, where they do not interfere with the prejudices of the author; but on the all absorbing question<sup>28</sup> it exhibits his slippery nature in full.

He defines clearly the nature and authority of the General Government, and acknowledges his obligations to discharge the duties which it imposes upon him, whatever may be the consequences; but denies that Congress can constitutionally

<sup>26</sup>This is one of the best of Bingham's letters and is well worth a second reading. It proves Bingham was a fine lawyer and would have made a great lawyer had he followed the advice of Judge Washington Adams of Boonville with whom he studied law.

<sup>27</sup>Buchanan's Fourth Annual Message, December 3, 1860, was a futile document. Bingham and Seward had the same estimate of it. Seward said of it: "The President has conclusively proved two things: (1) that no state has a right to secede unless it wishes to; and (2) that it is the President's duty to enforce the laws unless somebody opposes him."

<sup>28</sup>The absorbing question was, of course, secession. The day after Lincoln's election, the South Carolina legislature took steps toward calling a secession convention. And within a few days the principal Federal officers in South Carolina, including the two United States senators, resigned their offices.

use force to coerce a seceding state into obedience, simply upon the ground that there is no specific grant in the Constitution authorizing a declaration of war against a state. In taking this position he appears to forget that he had just demonstrated that secession was a violation of the state as well as the Federal Constitution, and that, consequently, the use of the Federal forces to put down secession would not be a war *against* state authority, but a war to *maintain* state authority. No government can ever be under the necessity of resorting to a formal declaration of war in order to use force in maintaining its just authority within its own limits, for the laws of a government are a perpetual declaration of war against such of its subjects or citizens as violate them. When we speak of the state of South Carolina in its legal sense, we mean the Government embodied in its written Constitution, and as *that* Government is in strict harmony with the Federal Government there can be no complaint against it. According to the exhibit of the President, (and he takes, upon this point, the true ground) the Government of the United States is as much a portion of the Govern-[ment] of the people of South Carolina, as is their State Government, and derives its authority from the same source, in maintaining its authority, therefore, within the limits of said state, even by force if necessary, he is but maintaining the authority of their own Government against those of their rebellious fellow citizens who take up arms against it. All that it becomes necessary for the General Government to do, in order to put down secession, is to persevere firmly in the discharge of its specific duties, and to protect its officers employed therein by such force as may be necessary. The resignations and refusals to cooperate on the part of citizens of the State may perhaps render the performance of some of them impossible, but as these will be of that nature mostly required by the imperative wants of the people themselves, their omission need trouble nobody else. But Buchanan is not the man for the emergency, and the seceders know it; hence their haste to accomplish their schemes without delay. They dread the *Rail Splitter*. They fear that his inaugural will evince to the people the deceptions which have been practiced upon

them—that he will take a true and patriotic position and have the firmness to maintain it with all the forces at his command. The reasons for Secession I am well convinced lie altogether beyond the ground alledged by those who are urging it onward. Other politicians in those states where the feeling in its favor is most dominant have for years been impressing the minds of the people with the idea that the Union diffuses the benefits of their peculiar natural advantages, which should be their exclusive property, throughout the confederacy, and thus prevents them from reaching that highest state of prosperity to which, in a condition of separate independence, they may aspire.

These people have allways been averse to hearing more than one side of a question at a time. They have not the Yankee habit of *calculating* the "Pros and Cons." They are, with a few exceptions, as averse to intellectual as to phisical labor. They skip over the dry close details of an argument which require hard thinking, and are carried away by "*Spread Eagle*" declamation which addresses mere prejudice and feeling. They will cheer the demagogue who affirms that one South Carolinian is an overmatch for twenty Yankees, and lynch whoever might venture an argument to prove the contrary. They have become thoroughly imbued with the idea that they are the greatest people in the world, have the greatest country in the world, and that the Federal Government is all that prevents a full manifestation of these facts. The only school in which they can be better taught is that of experience. If they can only be permitted, by some expedient, to get out of the Union, they will come to a more correct conclusion in reference both to its value and their own importance.

I have no idea that the Constitution can ever be amended as suggested by the President. Its provisions in reference to the matters of dispute, are at present full and ample, and all that justice requires. If one party feels agrieved by them as they are, a still larger party will feel equally agrieved by their alteration as proposed. Let us as, Citizens of Missouri, adhere to the old Ship as she is, and if she weathers the present storm, we can, in some quiet season, when winds and waves

are hushed, put her in the stocks and close such small leaks as may be found in her hull.

Our most serious complaint, as you know, against our Northern Brethren, is predicated upon their state legislation designed to embarrass the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law.<sup>29</sup> In looking over the Dred Scott decision,<sup>30</sup> I find a passage which very clearly defines the nature and extent of the authority of the Federal and State governments, respectively, in relation to the race who are the subjects of this law. The Chief Justice, in referring to the case of *Legrand v. Darnall*,<sup>31</sup> previously adjudicated, uses the following language: "The only two provisions (of the constitution) which point to them (negroes) and include them, treat them as property, and make it the duty of the government to protect it; no other power, in relation to this race, is to be found in the Constitution; and as it is a Government of Special delegated powers, no authority beyond these two provisions can be constitutionally exercised. The Government of the United States had no right to interfere for any other purpose but that of

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<sup>29</sup>The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was a part of the Compromise measures of that year. The law was in favor of the slave-holder and against the negro, and various northern states enacted local legislation to lessen its severity. These state laws were one of the grievances officially referred to by South Carolina in December, 1860, as justifying her secession from the Union.

<sup>30</sup>This famous decision was rendered by Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney on March 6, 1857, just two days after Buchanan's inauguration, and was to the effect that Dred Scott, having been originally a slave, and therefore a mere chattel, according to the law of Missouri, might, like any other chattel be taken by his master anywhere within the jurisdiction of the United States. Accordingly he was still a slave, and not a citizen of Missouri, from which it followed that he had no right to sue in the Federal courts. The main importance of the case, however, lay not so much in the actual decision as in the views expressed by the majority of the court. Going beyond the actual point to be settled, these judges gave opinions to the effect that no negro could ever become a United States citizen, that the Missouri Compromise was in violation of the Constitution, and that slavery could not be prohibited in the territories of the United States. The case, and especially the dicta of the court, aroused vast excitement at the time, and undoubtedly had the effect of precipitating the Civil War. (See: Corwin, Edward S., "The Dred Scott Decision in the Light of Contemporary Legal Doctrines," in *American Historical Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (October, 1911), pp. 52-69.)

<sup>31</sup>This case, in which Roger B. Taney was the lawyer for the appellant, had to do with the inheritance by will of land in Maryland by a ten-year-old boy, Nicholas Darnall, whose mother, a negro woman, was the slave of Bennett Darnall, the father of Nicholas.

protecting the rights of the owner, leaving it altogether with the several States to deal with this race, whether emancipated or not, as each State may think justice, humanity and the interests and safety of Society require. The States evidently intended to reserve this power exclusively to themselves."

We cannot fail to recognize the obvious import of the language here quoted. To me, it appears to sweep away, without reservation, all those provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, intended to protect free negroes from the cupidity of those who might otherwise avail themselves of its authority to claim them as slaves. These provisions, intended neither directly or incidently to benefit masters, but exclusively to benefit Africans, not as property, but as persons, appear from the above opinion to be a clear usurpation of authority, on the part of Congress, "*which the states evidently intended to reserve exclusively to themselves.*" And if the opinion be respected as Law, any free negroe, alledged to be a fugitive from service, and brought, as such, before a commissioner, or any other tribunal of the United States, "like a sheep before his shearers must be dumb" as no plea which he might be able to advance in defense of his rights of person, can be legally considered by an authority, having no constitutional power to deal with any of his race, except in their relation to owners as property.

If the states, as affirmed, have retained the right of conferring such privileges as they severally deem proper, upon their inhabitants of African descent, they surely have a right to protect them through their own, and the *only* tribunals which can be constitutionally empowered to consider them.

With this opinion of the chief Justice directing my judgement I feel fully convinced that the States can rightfully require, that any claim, affecting in any manner the personal rights, whatever they may be, of their inhabitants of this description shall be subjected to the scrutiny of their own courts; otherwise there is nothing to prevent the kidnapping of free negroes from becoming a legitimate business, to be pursued in perfect security under the protection of the Government of the United States. But perhaps I am boring you



with a matter which you have already fully considered, should this not be the case however, and if what I present to your notice be esteemed a new discovery, I desire you to make the best possible use of it, In your correspondence with those, who perhaps at this juncture, hold the destiny of our country in their hands.

If you shall be able to wield sufficient influence with the administration of Lincoln, to secure me an honorable and lucrative appointment abroad, either in France or Italy, I do not think I would reject it, Southerner as I am. But I think the Bell & Everett men of Missouri, as elsewhere, with a few exceptions have but very slight claims upon his favor. I was satisfied that his principles harmonised with those of Clay and our Republican Fathers, and regarded his election as certain, but I knew that an intevening mountain of prejudice placed our state entirely beyond his reach, and that the best thing possible with us was to secure its vote for Bell. We have failed to accomplish even this much with a disorganized party against us, and I think we merited failure. Our candidates in this part of the state who addressed the people took the ultra Southern position, and labored to prove that Bell was far in advance of Breckenridge and his adherents, in asserting and maintaining the extreme demands of the South. As I was frequently called upon to speak I took especial pains to let out the truth and vindicate our platform, as laid down in the constitution and the practice and precepts of our Fathers, and had no difficulty in proving from both combined that these extreme views were modern inventions, which Bell and Everett men were bound by a proper construction of their avowed creed to discard.

But I think you are now ready to admit that I have almost fulfilled the promise with which I commenced this letter, and I must conclude by requesting you to hand over the ballance which you may find in my favor, by the next mail, or at your very earliest convenience. The portrait of "Old Hal" is nearly completed. In eight or ten days more at farthest it will have recieved all that I can bestow upon it. I hope to meet you in Jefferson City when these pictures are delivered, It is likely that I shall be compelled to transport them by



land, and if so I may make arrangements to exhibit them in Lexington and Boonville as I go down. We are all in usual health, our love to Cousin Mary and the children.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

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Jefferson City Jan. 12. 1861

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

Yours of the 9th inst did not reach me until this morning. My Portraits of Clay and Jackson were placed side by side in the Hall of Representatives during the night of the 7th, and from all who loved their country, elicited spontaneous tokens of admiration during the Celebration of the 8th.

I was called upon without a moments preparation to make a speech, and prompted by the surroundings of the occasion, made the Union and the *Star Spangled Banner* my theme. I was greeted, as it appeared to me, with general applause throughout; but the Lieut. Gov.<sup>23</sup> hearing of my speech, (he was not present) came in afterwards and ventured to give myself, Judge Birch and Judge Orr a lecture. He received a good deal more in return than he bargained for in each case. In fact he is a fool, as you would say a d—nd fool. A gross misrepresentation of what took place was telegraphed to the Republican; and also appeared next morning in the Secession organ here.

I have just written a long letter to Paschall<sup>24</sup> for publication in the Republican, containing a full exposition of my sentiments and views as they were delivered, and the motives which induced me to give them utterance. I submitted this

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<sup>23</sup>Thomas C. Reynolds (1821-1887). Said to have been the leading spirit of the secession cause in Missouri in 1861. (Peckham, James, *General Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861*, p. 27.)

<sup>24</sup>Nathaniel Paschall (1802-1866), editor of the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*.

letter to Gen Wilson<sup>34</sup> and other discreet friends all of whom highly approved it. It ought to appear in the Republican of Monday next. I have infuriated all the traitors by boldly avowing my love for my Government which they are conspiring to destroy.

They seem disposed to withhold, as long as possible, a judgment upon my pictures, thinking no doubt that they are punishing me. I wish you as soon as you can possibly leave home, to come over and see them.

Were it not for my indebtedness to your bank I would take them immediately to St. Louis. I believe that their exhibition for two weeks would yield me more than the sum which the State is to pay me for them, and by putting them up in the large cities of the Middle and Northern states, 15. or \$20,000 might perhaps be made by them during the winter and Spring. If you see them and feel disposed to take stock in them for this purpose I will apply to the two houses for permission to remove them.

I do not believe they will allow me the use of them after they are paid for. I do not yet despair of the Union as lowering as the clouds appear. The traitors are now making their last desperate effort and I pray for a collision at Charleston<sup>35</sup> which will force the government to put forth its power.

If you come here and concur in my views in regard to removing the portraits of old Hal and old Hickory from the capitol, I can take them to Springfield and then come in direct and favorable contact with Lincoln, and if I chose to part with them I would have no difficulty, I think, under present circumstances in selling them to the Legislature of his State.

I seriously think there is a fine prospect for a speculation in the matter. I have become so much inspired, or excited,

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<sup>34</sup>Robert Wilson (1803-1870), union delegate to the State Convention of 1861, and elected vice-president of the Convention, later acting as president. Appointed to U. S. Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the expulsion of Waldo P. Johnson and served from January, 1862, to November, 1863, when a successor was elected.

<sup>35</sup>On December 20, 1860, South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession declaring she was no longer a part of the Union. The other Southern states were in a ferment, and between January 9 and February 1, 1861, six other states followed the example set by South Carolina.

if you so prefer to regard it, that I can make a tolerably good Speech to accompany them, and think that they and I can draw a crowd where there are people enough to make one.

I left all well at home, my love to Cousin Mary and the young flock. I shall look for you on Monday at farthest.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

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St Louis Jan 29. 1861

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

I came down from Jefferson City on yesterday, contrary to my expectations when I wrote you last, I succeeded in getting a joint Resolution passed authorizing me to remove the portraits to St Louis, contract for frames and exhibit them to the public.

This was not effected without considerable opposition in the Senate. Thompson of Clay made an exposition of his ignorance, stupidity, vulgarity and malignancy, which will receive its proper attention as soon as I shall be further provoked to stoop low enough to inflict punishment such as he is capable of feeling. Without intending it I happened to Spit in the face of Treason on the 8th inst. and its abettors being thrown off their guard by the unexpected insult exhibited their features so as to subject them to unmistakable recognition. The *Union* cause has been Steadily gaining ground ever since, and will doubtless be largely triumphant in the Convention.<sup>30</sup> Had we a bold defiant and active leader in the Legislature, Green would easily be defeated for the Senate and a true man put in his place. But our men are timid and indolent, Gen Wilson is perfectly true clear headed and good

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<sup>30</sup>On January 4, 1861, Claiborne F. Jackson was inaugurated governor of Missouri, and in response to a recommendation in his inaugural, the legislature called a State convention to be held in Jefferson City, February 28th, to determine Missouri's course of action in the impending crisis. When the Convention met, Sterling Price, as a Union man and also because of his personal popularity, was nominated and elected president. The Union cause was "largely triumphant" in the Convention.

in advising and directing younger men, but he does not seem inclined to place himself at their head and begin a hard fight neither asking or giving quarter. This is the kind of leader the times require. The Gen is out in a letter to his constituents in this mornings Republican. He takes the bold decided and manly ground which will please you and I hope its general circulation will give increased impulse to the improving tone of public sentiment. Had I not been in Jefferson this letter would not have been written, the fact is (and I give it to you in confidence) I wrote it myself—a small portion of the material being furnished to my hands.

I do not yet know whether I can obtain a suitable place here to exhibit the portraits, I will be able to ascertain in a few days.

You will do me the favor to ascertain the precise amount of my indebtedness to your Bank, and I will send a check on the State Bank here for the funds.

I trust you will let me hear from you in a few days. My love to Cousin Mary and the happy circle around her. God grant that our government may be preserved that the blessings which you and I have enjoyed under its beneficent control may extend also to our children.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

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Barnums Hotel<sup>87</sup> St Louis Feb 2. 1861

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

Yours of Jan. 31 came to hand this morning. I enclose you a check upon the State Bank for the amount due upon my note in bank. I deem it best to settle it without delay. I have not been well since I came from Jefferson owing to a severe cold but I am much better now and expect to be all right in a few days, and will then endeavor to make arrange-

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<sup>87</sup>Barnum's Hotel, located at the corner of 3rd and Vine Streets and kept by Theron Barnum, was, in its day, a famous hostelry, comparing with the old Planter's House.

ments to have my pictures of Jackson & Clay properly exhibited before the St Louis public. It is very difficult to find a suitable Hall, but I think the one connected with the Mercantile Library building can be made to serve the purpose of an evening exhibition by gass light, very well.

Every thing appears to be in such a depressed condition that I cannot expect to clear much beyond the expenses of the Exhibition. It will be to my interest, however, to give the public an opportunity to see them. Thompson of Clay is such a low dirty dog that I feel humiliated even at the bare idea of being compelled to handle him in any manner whatever. I made him confess himself a liar in the presence of Newland & Wilson, and it appeared to be a degradation, to which habit had rendered him so familiar that it had no power to bring even the slightest blush to his face. I regard him as the mere instrument of others—of *traitors* who are plotting the overthrow both of our State and Federal government, and who would procure the assassination, if necessary, of any one whom they deemed an obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of their hellish purposes. I trust the people will yet be aroused to a sense of their danger in time to avert it, and that they will inflict a proper punishment upon the Scoundrels who have brought them in peril.

It is given out that Lincoln is to leave Springfield for Washington on the 11th of this month. I will not have time to exhibit my portraits here and take them to Springfield before that time, as it requires two or three day to take them down and put them up. And again he is so bored with visitors and office seekers that I doubt if a visit to him at this time would be of any service to me. If I go to Springfield however, I will follow your advice and take a letter to the Gov. of Illinois,<sup>88</sup> to whom, I have no doubt, I can make myself agreeable. I think that Messrs Bates Blair and other friends, if they see proper to do so, can present me in a sufficiently favorable manner to the President when he shall be securely seated in the administrative chair, to obtain his con-

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<sup>88</sup>Richard Yates (1815-1873), Civil war governor of Illinois, January, 1861-January, 1865.

sideration of any application for an appointment abroad which I ought to make.

I am willing that my friends should measure my Capacity, and my aspirations shall be made to conform to their judgment.

I recieved a letter from Eliza this morning, her Bro John had been quite sick, and in attending to him and her pupils her strength has been heavily taxed. She tells me that the discussions there<sup>39</sup> are becoming warm an personal, so as seriously to threaten the peace.

Perhaps it is well that I am not at home. Our country is full of traitors, and I think it our duty to denounce them as such every where, and if fight comes in consequence I am for no backing out.

The news from Washington continues hopeful, but the enemies of our country will use every effort which their infernal Master can suggest, to prevent an adjustment of our difficulties. Let me hear from you soon. My love to cousin Mary and the dear flock with which she is surrounded.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

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Barnums Hotel St Louis Feb 17 1861

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

I have been indulging the hope that I would have seen you in St Louis before the close of the past week, but now suppose that you deem it best to remain at home until after the important election which takes place tomorrow.<sup>40</sup> I feel well convinced that Boone County is, at the core, all right,

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<sup>39</sup>Independence, Missouri.

<sup>40</sup>The bill which called a State Convention to meet on February 28, 1861, provided for an election of delegates to the Convention, to be held on February 18. This election resulted in the choice of a large majority of delegates opposed to secession, and in showing a popular preponderance of some eighty thousand votes in favor of the Union.

and that her decision when fully obtained will be for the preservation of the only Government which has ever been completely adapted to the wants of a free people. It is, I think, generally believed, that if the peace of this city can be preserved tomorrow, a large majority will be polled in favor of the unreserved Union ticket.

Some of the traitors however are becoming desperate, and it is feared, that unless great prudence shall be exercised by those who direct the masses, a bloody riot may ensue.

I believe that Gen Frost<sup>4</sup> and his minute men, under the sanction of our diabolical Governor, will do all that can be done compatible with their own personal safety to bring about such a result.

I fear you will have much to account for, growing out of your refusal, last summer, to make the canvass for an office which is now prostituted to the vilest purposes of treason.

I put up my portraits of Jackson & Clay, a few days since in the small Hall of the Mercantile Library Association, but in consequence of the daily and nightly political meetings in every part of the City I deemed it best not to exhibit them until after the Election, and have therefore made arrangements to open them on the evening of the 22nd inst. in the large Hall of the library, in which there will then be a gathering of the citizens to celebrate the birthday of the Father of his Country. I hope you you will make it convenient to be here without fail at that time, as it will perhaps be the only opportunity you will ever have to see these, my best works, in a light which will display them to advantage. Let me know if I can look for you down.

My love to Cousin Mary & the Children.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

<sup>4</sup>Daniel M. Frost (1823-1900), graduate of West Point 1844. Successful business man of St. Louis and warm espouser of the Southern cause. He was in command of Camp Jackson when it was captured by Nathaniel Lyon on May 10, 1861.



St Louis Feb. 20 1861

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

A few days since I received intelligence of the death of my brother, M. A. Bingham, who has long been a citizen of Texas. He has left a land estate amounting to some four or five thousand acres, embracing an improved place upon which he was residing in the immediate vicinity of Houston. I have received letters from his administrator, and also from a gentleman professing to have been an old friend of my brother, which induce me to visit Houston as early as possible. As I have before informed you, my brother was a batchelor, and myself, surviving brother and Sister are his only legal heirs. My object in writing this is to solicit from you the loan of a hundred dollars to meet contingencies, which may arise during my trip, as I have barely funds enough to pay my passage. The money recieved for the State pictures has been nearly exhausted in paying my own deabts and in securing a portion of our property in Kansas City from sacrifice.

You already hold my note for two hundred dollars, which with three hundred and twentyfive dollars I am owing our Cousin in law, Mr. Buckner,<sup>48</sup> is every cent of my indebtedness. I hope to pay all in the course of the Spring and Summer, and will then have an income sufficient for the support of my small family, should I be taken from them. If you can find it convenient to accommodate me with the amount desired, please send me a check. I wish to leave on next Saturday or Monday, and will return as early as possible. My love to Cousin Mary and the children.

Yours,

G. C. Bingham

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<sup>48</sup>Xerxes Xavier Buckner (1828-1872). Baptist minister, and an early president of Baptist (now Stephens) College. He married Clara Moss Prewitt, who was a cousin of the second Mrs. Bingham and a daughter of Moss Prewitt, banker of Columbia.

St Louis March 6 1861

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

Your check for one hundred dollars came duly to hand for which accept my thanks. I am now on board Steamer Rowena which leaves for New Orleans this afternoon. I will endeavour to profit by your advice when I reach Houston. I have already received some accounts therefrom which convince me that caution will be necessary in the employment of agents. Fortunately my brothers estate is nearly all in land, and he lived free from debt. I will write to you as soon as I get a view of matters as he left them.

Old Abe appears reasonable in his inaugural and I hope he will be sustained in the discharge of his duty. He perhaps should not have said more, and I don't think he ought to have said less. I am tired of submission to traitors. If they will force a war I am for giving them enough of it.

My love to Cousin Mary and all, farewell.

Yours

G. C. Bingham.

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 Kansas [City] May 16 1861<sup>43</sup>

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

Since I saw you in Columbia up to this time we have had nothing but excitement in this portion of our State. Secession has been exhibiting its cowardice in bullying the humble and unobtrusive portion of our laboring and trading population especially among the naturalized citizens, and the consequence is that a great portion of these, to whom we are indebted for the immense amount of labor performed in our

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<sup>43</sup>This letter was written a little more than a month after the opening of actual hostilities of the Civil war, which began April 12, 1861. On that date, despite the earnest entreaties of the "fire eater" Robert Toombs, the Confederate secretary of state, against an attack, the Confederates under Beauregard fired on Fort Sumter. By a curious coincidence, Major Anderson, the Union officer in command of Sumter, had taught artillery at West Point to Cadet Beauregard, who proved so apt a pupil that he had been retained as assistant instructor in the subject.

city have left us in the hope of finding better protection elsewhere. Gen Harneys proclamation<sup>44</sup> and subsequent address to the people of Missouri came in time to prevent us from being completely abandoned by this important class of our people, and have operated as a salutary check upon our rapid, fire-eating element. Some of those who compose it continue to chafe and fume, but like tigers in a cage they see the strong iron bars intervening between them and the objects of their impotent fury, and are likely soon to become the sport of boys who will poke them in the ribs and make merry over their insane antics. Some temporary success on the part of the Southern rebels may again revive their hopes and courage, but only to be depressed again, for I feel confident that there is a loyal force in the Nation adequate to crush the rebellion impudent arrogant and powerful as it appears.

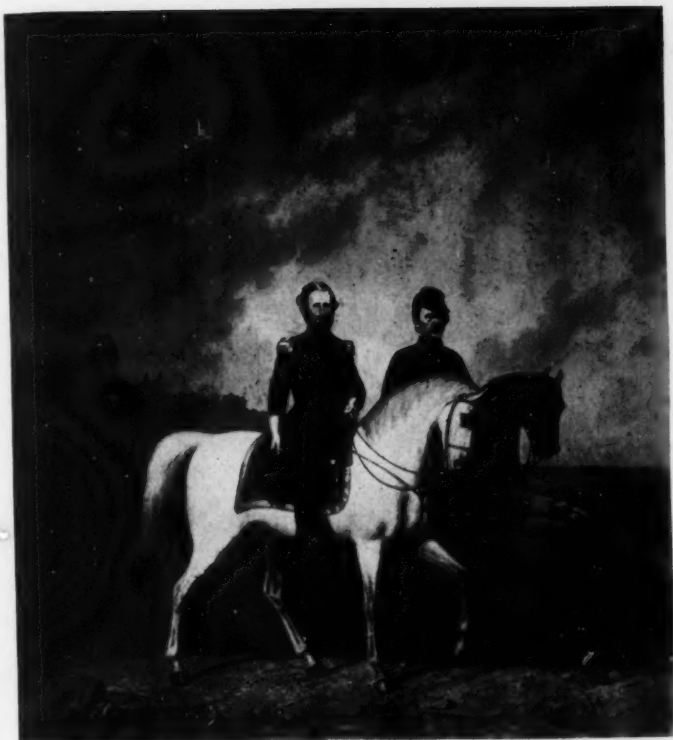
I have seen an account of your Union meeting<sup>45</sup> as it appears in the Statesman. The neutrality policy which our friends have been generally urging has never struck me as being manly or patriotic. To pronounce secession treason in one breath, and in the next to declare neutrality between the traitors and the constituted authorities who are endeavoring to maintain the government, seems to me to be twin brother to the treason. Guitar<sup>46</sup> is the truest man you have among you, all honor to him.

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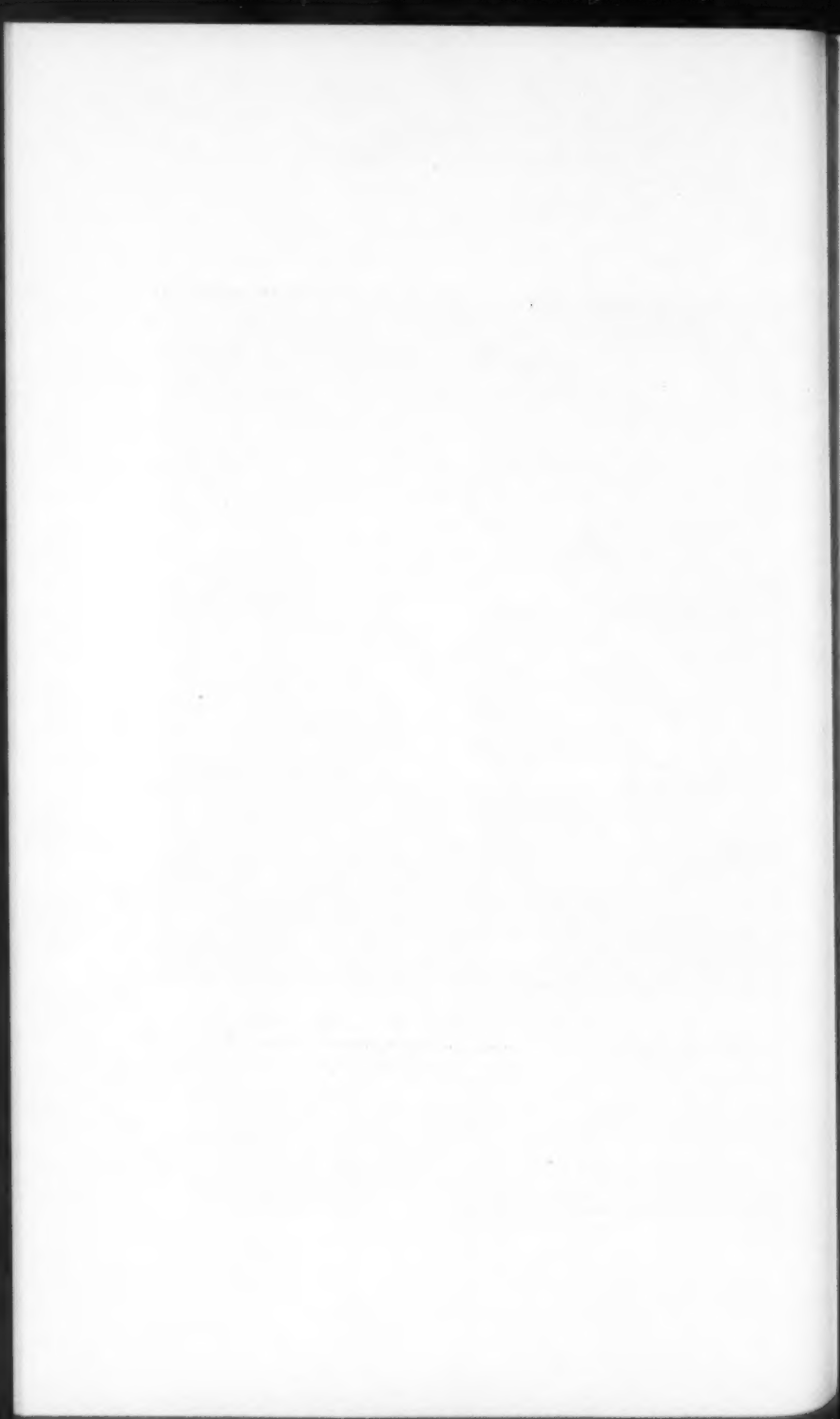
<sup>44</sup>William Selby Harney (1800-1889). This proclamation, issued May 12, 1861, in St. Louis, assured the people of Missouri that their lives and property would be protected. I have always thought Harney a patriot, not the traitor the Blairs made him appear. He perhaps did not act with the energy and firmness that the Union men believed the occasion required, but he was not a traitor. Through his brother, Montgomery Blair, at this time postmaster general in Lincoln's cabinet, Frank had the ear of the President, and in the troublous days of 1861 in Missouri, Frank was a power in the politics of the State and he used his power ruthlessly. All the testimony I have read bearing on the case indicates that politics rather than statesmanship entered into the Blair-Harney controversy.

<sup>45</sup>This meeting, one of the largest in the county up to that time, was held at the courthouse in Columbia, May 6, 1861, to express opinions in regard to the crisis. A series of resolutions were passed, the gist of which was that "the true policy of Missouri at present . . . is to maintain an independent position within the Union—holding her soil and institutions sacred against invasion or hostile interference from any quarter whatever." (Switzler, Wm. F., *History of Missouri*, p. 407.)

<sup>46</sup>General Odon Guitar, one of Columbia's leading citizens, was opposed to such a neutral position, and made a powerful speech at the meeting urging that the State take an unmistakable and unequivocal stand for the Union.



NATHANIEL LYON AND FRANK P. BLAIR STARTING FROM THE ST. LOUIS  
ARSENAL, MAY 10, 1861, TO CAPTURE CAMP JACKSON. (ca. 1862)



The developments which immediately followed the surrender of Camp Jackson<sup>47</sup> in the shape of stolen munitions, allied with the significant names by which the avenues of the camp were designated, can leave no doubt upon any mind of the damnable treachery of our Governor and his infamous satellites. If they are not doomed "to crawl upon their bellies all the days of their lives" beneath the weight of such crushing exposures, there can be no sense of honor left in the breasts of mankind.

The tragedy<sup>48</sup> which succeeded the *coercion* of these *nonsubmissionists* cannot be otherwise than deplored by every friend of humanity, but I trace the guilt to which such calamities are to be attributed beyond the immediate actors therein to the arch plotters who, secure in their closets, have incited this groundless rebellion for purposes of selfish aggrandizement alone. Upon their heads must rest the fearful responsibility for all the blood which may be shed in this bitter and unnatural contest.

We have good reason to believe that the contemplated movements of Gen Harney in our State will demonstrate the wisdom and practicability of Coercion. His emphatic declaration that "the *Supreme Law* shall be enforced" has the ring of old Hickory in it, and the general belief that he may be drawn

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<sup>47</sup>Camp Jackson, named for Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, situated in "Lindell Grove" at what was then the western end of Olive street, St. Louis, was ostensibly a training camp of the State militia, but actually a training camp for the Confederacy, as is clearly shown by the letter from General David M. Frost, commander of the camp, to Governor Jackson, dated January 24, 1861. (See letter in Switzler, *History of Missouri*, p. 355.)

Captain Nathaniel Lyon, commanding the United States troops in and about St. Louis, suspected treasonable activities in Camp Jackson, and, donning the dress, shawl, and bonnet of Mrs. Alexander, the mother-in-law of Frank Blair, drove in a carriage through the camp, the avenues of which were called Davis, Beauregard, and names of other prominent Confederates. Convinced of the treasonable designs of General Frost, Lyon and Blair, at the head of several regiments of troops, demanded and secured the surrender of the camp on May 10, 1861.

Bingham painted a picture of Lyon and Blair on horseback leaving the arsenal to capture Camp Jackson. This picture belongs to Mrs. Frank B. Rollins of Columbia, Missouri.

<sup>48</sup>After the surrender of Camp Jackson, the mob, which sympathized with the Southern cause, began to insult the soldiers under Lyon's command. The soldiers bore patiently the epithets, dirt, and stones, but when some of the mob fired on them, the soldiers returned the fire and innocent bystanders were killed.

upon for what he promises operates as an amasing quietus upon the frothy agitators who are so constantly spilling the last drop of their blood rather than succumb to the constitutional rule of their country. The fact is governments are for purposes of coercion alone, those who are willing to do right need no laws to impel them to the performance of duty.

We are all in good health at present, and bear up under the excitements of the times as well as could be expected. As to myself you know I have never *knocked under*. Eliza and Clara join in love to Cousin Mary yourself and the young ones let me hear from you soon.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

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Kansas City Mo June 5. 1861

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

As I have received no answer to my last letter to you, I suppose the traitors keep you fully occupied in efforts to circumvent their damnable plots to ruin our State. They are determined to leave us no alternative other than to organize and meet them in arms, and if it must be, the sooner the better. We have comparative quiet here at present, but I look upon it as temporary merely. Shields, Thurston, Maughs<sup>49</sup> and others of the like infamous stripe are busy in our vicinity and are availing themselves of the truce agreed upon between Gen's Harney and Price,<sup>50</sup> only to prepare themselves to disregard it. They have stolen all the arms in this part of the

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<sup>49</sup>Dr. G. M. B. Maughs (1821-1901), strong secessionist. Mayor of Kansas City, 1860-1861. He served as surgeon in the Confederate Army during the Civil war. Practiced medicine for many years in Fulton, Missouri, and I heard him say he suffered most of his life from malaria contracted in Callaway county.

<sup>50</sup>With the view of preserving peace and maintaining law and order, Harney and Price signed an agreement on May 21, 1861, that their common aim was to restore peace and order to the State, and that each would respect the authority of the other. This agreement came to nothing, as it did not meet the approval of the Federal authorities at Washington. Harney was removed from the command of the Department and Lyon put in his place.



State, and are expecting others, with aid to bear them from Arkansas. Before the invaders are upon us I trust the National Government will have some force in the neighborhood to hold them in check. If volunteers shall be authorized to be raised here I shall endeavor to head a company myself, trusting to the head of greater Military Science above me.

We are all out of employment, and Art is far below every thing else in such times as these. I am ready to turn my attention, for the time being, to any thing by which I can keep from sinking in debt, and secure the bare necessities of life for those who have a right to look to me for support.

I have just written to Blair at St Louis and to Mr Bates in Washington soliciting their influence in procuring me a clerkship, or position as draughtsman in some department of Engineering associated with the army or elsewhere.

My personal habits are so simple that I could manage to remit to my family the greater portion of even a small salary, and they are learning to economise in accordance with the demands of the period. When is it your purpose to start for Washington?<sup>61</sup> If I can receive any assurance that I can find any employment there which will pay me as much as \$90 or \$100 per month I will go with you. You see I do not aspire at present to the highest places however high my merits. A position even so humble as that of assistant doorkeeper

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<sup>61</sup>My father had been elected to Congress in 1860 from the old 9th congressional district. He took his seat in the special session called by President Lincoln for July 4, 1861. In 1864 my father was again a member of Congress. He was a warm supporter of Lincoln in all his policies, and Lincoln, anxious to have the support of the border states, cultivated the friendship of their congressmen. Congress having adjourned in July, 1864, my father went to the White House to bid Mr. Lincoln goodbye and took my brother Bingham and myself with him. He rang the door bell and we were ushered in by the doorkeeper, a dignified, white-haired old negro man, who took our card to the president. In a moment, we were invited back to his office. My father shook hands with Lincoln, then introduced my brother and myself. When I was presented, Lincoln stooped, put his hands under my arms and raised me to a level with his face. I recall to this day his great, homely, handsome countenance. I can still see the wart on his right cheek. He held me for a moment, put me down and said to my father, "Rollins, that boy may be a congressman some day." Though it was nearly seventy-five years ago, I recall this incident distinctly.

would satisfy me.<sup>42</sup> Still I am not low in spirits however down in other respects. Our trials privations and sufferings now, will be wisdom and riches to our children hereafter. Our country, through the luxurious pamperings of prosperity, has become sadly diseased, and is in throes through the effort of nature to regain a healthy condition. The principle of vitality, thank God, is strong enough to take her safely beyond the crisis. Our Government so fruitful of Blessings to millions is not yet to be destroyed—such at least is my faith, founded upon the workings of Providence in the past.

I hope, with me, that you see beyond the shadow of the cloud immediately in the fore-ground to the glorious sunlight upon the distant hills. Let us pray and curse and work and fight as exigencies may demand, and all will assuredly terminate well.

I learn that you came near having a fight with professor Swallow.<sup>43</sup> I believe he is a Unionist at heart, but like too many other Yankees he is any thing for Self. I fear he would even betray private confidence to accomplish the ends of selfish interest. His Geological Speculation far outweighs his principles, and the latter therefore will always be spread to catch the breeze most likely to push forward the former. He may make a mistake yet, and like other Swallows have done, perish in the mud at last.

We are all in excellent health. Eliza begins to look almost as fleshy as her mother. Can it be that such sighing and grief as arises from our disturbed condition, really has the effect which Falstaff attributed to it?

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<sup>42</sup>Strange vicissitudes and inconsistencies of life! Bingham, perhaps as able as any man in Congress at that time, willing to accept the humble position of assistant doorkeeper of the House or Senate. Simplicity of character is ever a large element in true greatness.

<sup>43</sup>George Clinton Swallow (1817-1899), first professor of geology and of agriculture, and first dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri. He was also first State geologist of Missouri. In one of his campaigns for the legislature, Captain James W. Knelsley of Columbia, who was violently opposed to the University and especially to the Agricultural College, of which Swallow was the head, referred to Dr. Swallow as "the fork-ed tail bird from Maine." Strange as it may seem in the light of present times, Knelsley's "opposition to the University and the Agricultural College" proved a popular slogan, and he was returned to the legislature a number of times.

All join in Love to cousin Mary yourself and the flock, big and little, around you. I shall expect to hear from you without delay.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

P. S. Clara wrote to Laura some two weeks since and is looking for an answer. Eliza would also be much pleased if the girls would write to her occasionally.

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Kansas City June 29. 1861

Maj. J. S. Rollins

Washington D C

My dear Sir

Your very acceptable favor of the 20th inst came to hand several days since, but I have been so much engaged that I have not been able to respond to it earlier. Of the occupation of our city by the Federal troops,<sup>44</sup> and leading incidents connected therewith, you have doubtless been fully informed through the public press. The avowed object of the movement, as set forth by the Commandant Capt Price, was the organization of a reserved Corps of Volunteers, as a Home Guard for the protection of the Union Men of the City and vicinity, and to maintain the just authority of our National Government over all. If the Government had been in a condition to have taken this step six or eight weeks earlier, our city would, at this time, have been in far more prosperous circumstances, and the military organization requisite to its defense might have been effected with very little delay. But the Spirit of Secession, having received no check, became daily more rampant violent and confident. Our trade with the State of Kansas was nearly extinguished as a consequence,

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<sup>44</sup>Mayor Robert T. Van Horn, who succeeded Dr. G. M. B. Maughs, a secessionist, as mayor of Kansas City in 1861, procured an order for troops from Leavenworth; and Captain Prince, U. S. A., with two companies of infantry and three of cavalry, came to Kansas City on June 12, 1861.

and the robbery of the U. S. Arsenal at Liberty,<sup>65</sup> and the U. S. Stores from a warehouse in our city, caused us to lose the transportation of government stores to New Mexico and other points commanded by our favorable position.<sup>66</sup> This utter prostration of our business, has driven from us those classes of our citizens who could have most readily been induced to form themselves into military organizations. As a necessary consequence of this state of affairs, the filling up of our "*Home Guard*" has proved a *heavy dragging* buisness, and as the greater portion of the requisite material left us is with our German and Irish population the two first companies, out of the three authorized, have been organized from these elements. An effort was made by one of our citizens, as soon as the call was made, to enlist a company of Americans, the effort though somewhat promising at the beginning proved a failure. About a week since I had a notice inserted in the paper in our City, friendly to our cause, calling a Union Meeting for the purpose of making a last attempt to kindle the almost extinguished fires in the bosoms of our Native population. The meeting turned out to be a success. We opened a roll for recruits and have enlisted a sufficient number for the organization of a Company, which was mustered into the Service of the United States day before yesterday. At the unanimous call of the members of the company I have consented to serve them as Captain, and have commenced the duties of the office.<sup>67</sup> You know that such a position is not in harmony with my tastes, nor does my education qualify me for the duties pertaining to it; but this *Great emergency* of our Country re-

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<sup>65</sup>Referred to as the Liberty Arsenal although it was four miles from Liberty. Called by the United States authorities the Missouri Depot, where large quantities of war munitions were stored. On April 20, 1861, two hundred armed and mounted secessionists captured this arsenal, in command of Major Nathaniel Grant, and removed practically all of the stores to Liberty where they were distributed to the secessionists of Clay and surrounding counties.

<sup>66</sup>In 1860, Kansas City was the most thriving city on the western border, with the largest local trade, a monopoly of the trade with New Mexico, and the greater part of that with Colorado. As the secession movement in the South developed, the secession sentiment in Kansas City and Missouri crystallised. In the winter of 1860-1861 business began to lag, and by the time spring came, peaceful pursuits were practically abandoned.

<sup>67</sup>Mayor Van Horn obtained authority from General Lyon to recruit a battalion of troops for the defense of Kansas City, and Bingham served as Captain of Company C in Van Horn's battalion.

quires us to imitate the example of our Fathers, and I yield myself, with the best ability which I possess, to any service which may be required from me. If you can succeed in procuring me a more agreeable situation in the Consular or diplomatic Service, and my post here can be filled by one with more military science and experience than I possess, I cannot be otherwise than gratified by the exchange. Our intimacy enables you to present my position upon the present vital question to the authorities at Washington more fully than others could do it. I send you enclosed an address from the Union men of Kansas City to their fellow citizen of the State of Missouri, with resolutions accompanying. both are my work exclusively.

For the last 30 hours we have been deluged with torrents of rain such as have not been poured from above for many years. If such weather continues, the grain crop, just harvested, must be ruined. When the sun comes out, I trust our farmers will be upon the alert, and dry, and secure the crop under shelter as soon as possible. Crops of all kinds promise an unprecedented yield. We all continue in excellent health. That of Eliza, after many years of suffering, seems to be fully restored. For this she is indebted, to her great physician, Doct Fistcher, in Colougne. We all join in love to you and yours, not knowing how many of them are with you. The U. S. forces, composed of Regulars and Kansas Volunteers, left us in the early part of this week, taking up their line of march southward—Poor Claib and poor Price!<sup>68</sup> their career

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<sup>68</sup>Sterling Price (1809-1867), governor of Missouri 1853-1857, was placed in command of the Missouri State Guard in May, 1861, but after the famous Planters' House Conference in June, 1861, between Blair and Lyon on one side and Price and Jackson on the other, Price allied himself with the Southern cause and fought through the war on the Confederate side, being affectionately known to his men as "Old Pap." In the summer of 1863, General Edwin W. Price, a son of General Sterling Price, told my father he believed that Sterling Price might be induced to return to his allegiance to the Union if assured of amnesty. General Edwin Price had himself already resigned from the Southern army and returned to Missouri. My father, a strong Union man, had high regard for General Sterling Price, and knowing the value to the Union cause of General Sterling Price's return to his allegiance to his country, wrote at once to Lincoln, who replied in a letter I still have, dated August, 1863, that he would be glad to pardon General Price if he would return to the Union and take the oath of allegiance before the next meeting of Congress.

began in honor, but prosecuted in hypocrisy, has at length terminated in infamy.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

[P. S.]

Let me hear from you, if but a few lines, without delay.

*(To be continued.)*

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Some time in November, 1863, my father and General Edwin W. Price, at the request of the latter (see letter of Edwin W. Price to James S. Rollins in *Rollins Mss. Collection*), had an interview at Barnum's Hotel in St. Louis. General Price agreed to go to General Sterling Price, then in the South, and report Lincoln's offer of amnesty. My father secured passes for General Edwin W. Price through the Federal lines so that he could interview his father. On his return to Missouri, General Edwin Price told my father that General Sterling Price said he had burned his bridges, he had gone too far, that his friends would denounce him as a traitor.

Back in 1847 there occurred an unfortunate incident between Sterling Price and Frank Blair. When U. S. Governor of New Mexico, Sterling Price put Blair under arrest, an act which Blair attributed to personal malice and for which Blair never forgave Price. In 1852, when Price was governor of Missouri, Blair, a member of the legislature, pronounced a violent philippic against him. It seems a convict in the penitentiary had painted a portrait of Price, and Blair in his philippic compared Price with Judas Iscariot, and said, among other things, that Price was a fit subject for a felon's brush. The rupture between Price and Blair was never healed. Price's great niece, Florence Price, married Frank Blair's son. A great-great niece of Sterling Price married the grandson of the redoubtable Benjamin Franklin Butler.

After the war, General Sterling Price went to old Mexico where a large grant of land had been made him by Emperor Maximilian. But the climate did not agree with him, and in the winter of 1866 he returned to St. Louis where he died in September, 1867.

## MISSOURIANA

Who Named the Ozarks and When?  
Red-Letter Books Relating to Missouri  
Topics in Missouri History  
Do You Know, Or Don't You?  
Missouri Verse in The Pioneer Press

## WHO NAMED THE OZARKS AND WHEN?

The question of the authorship and first use of the appellation "Ozark Mountains" as applied to the highlands of southern Missouri, northern Arkansas,<sup>1</sup> and northeastern Oklahoma has excited speculation, yet few attempts have been made toward a solution other than suggestions as to the meaning and origin of the word "Ozarks." An effort to determine definitely who named the Ozarks has led the State Historical Society of Missouri to undertake extensive research on the subject, involving an examination of all available maps of the Louisiana Purchase region dating back to the first explorations of the trans-Mississippi country and of accounts written by early explorers and travelers. Numerous librarians and other individuals have cooperated with the Society in the investigation.

Incidental and yet introductory to the problem of authorship and date of adoption of the term "Ozarks" as applied to mountains or highlands is the question of the origin of the word itself. An analysis of such accounts as those of Henri de Tonti, Father Zenobius Membré, Father Gravier, Louis Hennepin, Anastasius Douay, De Montigny, the records of the explorations of Marquette and Jolliet, and, more recently, the findings of the Bureau of American Ethnology, provide the most obvious explanation. Marquette, La Salle, and Tonti found the Arkansas (Akansa, Akamsea, Akensea, Accancea, and

<sup>1</sup>Carl O. Sauer, in *The Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri*, maintains that the Ozark highlands lie in five states: Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Illinois. The title "Ozark Mountains," however, is most commonly applied to the highland area in southern Missouri, northern Arkansas, and northeastern Oklahoma.



other spellings) Indians in the region of the present Arkansas Post.<sup>3</sup> It is believed that these Indians were a Siouan tribe or tribes who once lived east of the Mississippi on the Ohio river. They were forced from the Ohio region and one group went southward (downstream) along the Mississippi to the area along the river which now bears their name—Arkansas. In the process of migration, the group which went south called themselves U-ga-qpa (Oo-ga-khpa) or Kwapa (Quapaw), meaning downstream people.<sup>3</sup> Nuttall, writing in 1819, said that they seldom called themselves Arkansas, their own name for themselves being Quapaws (O-quah-pas) or Osark. They were known to the Illinois Indians as the Arkansas, and French explorers and settlers also early applied the word "Arkansas" to the Indians, as well as to the river, the country through which it flowed, and to the post. The French abbreviation of the word "Arkansas" led travelers and settlers to "use the phrase *aux Arcs*" to mean "on the river, at the post, or in the country of the Arkansas."<sup>4</sup> The opinion of the United States Geographic Board has been generally accepted that "Ozarks" is a metamorphosed name, an anglicised version of the French phrase *aux Arcs*. Featherstonaugh arrived at the same conclusion, for in his *Excursion Through the Slave States* (1844) he spoke of the "elevated country which has obtained the name of Ozark Mountains" and explained that the word "Ozark" was a "corruption of *aux Arcs*, the French abbreviation of *aux Arkansas*." Schoolcraft only groped toward the explanation in his *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas* (1853), when he suggested that the Osage Indians "probably furnish origin for the term." Darby and Dwight, in their *Gazetteer of the*

<sup>3</sup>Arkansas Post is known as the first white settlement in what is now Arkansas and is said to have been founded in 1686 by a group of Frenchmen under the direction of Henri de Tonti. If not on the same site, its location was at least in the neighborhood of the present-day Arkansas Post on the Arkansas river near the junction of that river with the Mississippi.

<sup>3</sup>Hodge, Frederick W., *Handbook of American Indians*, Part II, pp. 333-336. Dorsey, J. Owen, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," in *The American Naturalist*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (March, 1886), p. 215.

<sup>4</sup>Dorrance, Ward A., *Three Ozark Streams*, p. 37. Dorrance found the phrase so used in early French manuscripts. The explanation offered above coincides with the careful study made by Dorrance as to the origin of the word "Ozarks," recorded in the appendix of *Three Ozark Streams*.

*United States* (1833), said that "Ozark" was a provincial vulgarism, "the hunter's name for Arkansas," which had been used "by some writers and map makers." Other explanations have been offered which do not seem so feasible and need not be considered here. The weight of general opinion is that "Ozark" is an anglicised version of the French abbreviation *aux Arcs* for *aux Arkansas*. No final or satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the word "Arkansas" has been accepted although several explanations have been advanced.

The explorers of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries made no effort to attach any general name to the mountains and hilly region which they found between the Missouri, Arkansas, and Red rivers. The travel accounts of these explorers leads one to conclude that they were not so mountain-conscious as are many residents of Missouri and Arkansas today. In fact, some of the earliest accounts did not indicate an awareness of any distinct highland region. Evidently these first travelers were of the same opinion as modern scientific authorities who say that the Ozark region should not be described as mountainous. It is now an accepted fact that, though only a small portion of the area is smooth, the total area which is too rough for agriculture is not large.

Recognition of mountains was more often indicated on the maps than in the written accounts of the earliest explorers, but the hatching on the maps seldom bore any designation. Occasionally, in the 18th century as well as in the early 19th, a map might bear the term "Mines," "Pays plein de Mines," "A country abounding in mines," or simply "Mountains" to indicate the region just west of the Mississippi and between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers. When the United States came into possession of the vast Louisiana territory, few people besides Indians and hunters had traversed the region and the maps which had been made were extremely imperfect sketches.

Early nineteenth century accounts of travel and exploration in the area of Missouri and Arkansas are more numerous and in them one finds more frequent mention of hills and mountains, although some writers remained silent on the subject. Perrin du Lac, in his travels during 1801, 1812, and 1813,

referred to one nameless mountain. Map I in the *Atlas* accompanying the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* shows mountains in the region of the Ozarks but no name is given them and, since the expedition was not concerned with this area, that portion of the map might have been copied from a contemporary French manuscript map. Stoddard (1812), Austin (1804), Bradbury (1819), Palmer (1818), Schultz (1810), Ashe (1818), and Cuming (1810) give no information concerning mountains; nor did William Dunbar (1804), in his account of a voyage he made with George Hunter, save to place Mount Cerne<sup>6</sup> and some indications of mountains around Hot Springs on his map of the "Washita River in Louisiana." Brackenridge, in his *Views of Louisiana*, mentioned the Black Mountains as the source of White river. Pike, whose account was published in 1810, took cognizance only of the mountains along the Arkansas river and of Mount Cerne during his explorations in 1805, 1806, and 1807. Madox, who gave an account of Missouri Territory in 1817, was more specific concerning the mountains, though he certainly was not impressed by them. According to him, there were no mountains of any size in the Territory except a small range between the Osage and St. Francis rivers. He also spoke of White river rising in the Black mountains. John D. Hunter, who left the western country in 1816, and in 1824 published his *Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America*, wrote that there were several elevations "particularly in the neighborhood of the Arkansas which have received the name of mountains; but so far as my knowledge extends, without any claim to such distinction." Schoolcraft made no definite reference to mountains in his *Journal of a Tour* (1821), but in his *View of the Lead Mines of Missouri* (1819) he said that there was much high land in the region of Black river, though there was "none entitled to be called mountain." He spoke of a ridge extending in a southwest direction from the Meramec to White river in Arkansas but gave no name to the region. Not until 1851 and 1853, do we find

<sup>6</sup>Mount Cerne was located not far south of what is now known as Van Buren, Arkansas, and south of the Arkansas river shortly after the river enters Arkansas. James described Mount Cerne as a small hill but the Long expedition did not definitely ascertain the elevation of any of the Ozark mountains.

the Ozark Mountains mentioned in Schoolcraft's works. Brown (*Western Gazetteer*, 1817) mentioned the Black mountains (see below) and Darby, in his *Emigrant's Guide* (1818), wrote that "a ridge of hills leaves the Mississippi river within a short distance above the mouth of the Ohio, and extending southwest divides the waters that flow south into the St. Francis and White rivers from those whose courses are directed northeast of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers." Beck, in his *Gazetteer* of 1823, only referred to "ranges of flinty hills" which traversed the "interior and southern section of Missouri."

The search to determine recognition and designation of the Ozark mountains as such easily becomes confused with references to the Masserne and Black mountains made by some 19th century writers and map makers. The mountainous area between the Arkansas and Red rivers became known as the Masserne ridge, and a range of hills further north was referred to as the Black mountains. Just when these terms were first applied has not been determined. Brown, in his *Western Gazetteer* (1817), described the mountains of Missouri Territory as:

The Masserne ridges, extend westwardly from near the Mississippi to the sources of the Red river, and give to the country west of the Washita, a rugged surface. The Black mountains run nearly parallel to the Missouri from the head of the Kansas. The rocky mountains form a formidable natural boundary on the west and northwest.

Warden, in his *Statistical, Political and Historical Account of the United States of North America* (1819), gave a very similar description of the mountains of the Territory:

From the middle and eastern part of the chain of the Rocky Mountains, another called the Black Mountains, separates the waters of the Kansas branch of the Missouri from those of the Arkansas of the Mississippi river. Another ridge divides the waters of the Osage from those of White river and others, known by the name of *Masserne*, extend from this latter river in irregular shapes toward the Red river.

Darby (*Emigrant's Guide*, 1818), in describing the territory south of the Arkansas river and west of the Mississippi, said that the Masserne mountain range was a prolongation of

the Chippewan range and rose in detached masses between the Red and Arkansas rivers but that it had not been carefully examined by men of science. He said that spurs of the Masserne mountains often reached the Arkansas river. Thomas Nuttall, the naturalist who made a journey through Arkansas Territory in 1819, gave Darby the credit for naming the Masserne mountains. H. S. Tanner made a map from Nuttall's original manuscripts and on it showed the Masserne mountains. By 1833, Darby's and Dwight's *Gazetteer of the United States* explained that the Masserne mountains were named from Mount Cerne, one of the peaks of the range and a peak which James said was "long used as a lookout post by the French hunters." By that time, Darby's conception of the area covered by the Massernes had expanded, for they were described as

a chain of mts. in the United States and Texas, extending from the state of Mississippi over Arkansas into Texas, in a nearly similar direction with the mtn. range of the Appalachian system. The Masserne is traversed by Red and Arkansas rivers and gives source to the Merrimac, Gasconade, St. Francis, White, and Ouchitta rs. No scientific survey has ever been made of the Masserne, a remark which might be extended and applied to the Appalachian system. The provincial vulgarism Ozark, the hunter's name for Arkansas, has been given to the Masserne, by some writers and map makers.

This quotation gives the impression that the Masserne and Ozark mountains finally came to be identical. Flint, however, in his *History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley* (1832), made a distinction between them, and described the Ozark mountains as commencing "near the Warm Springs in the Territory of Arkansas" and stretching "northwardly along the source of White river and St. Francis" and then passing into the "state of Missouri in the Mine country." De Smet, writing in 1841-42, also made a distinction. A letter in the *Missouri Gazette* of September 6, 1817, simply referred to the "delightful Arkansas mountains" in the region about Arkansas Post.

Examination of travel accounts reveals that the use of the word "Ozark" did not become general until the beginning of the 19th century. It was first applied to the Arkansas

river, Arkansas Post, or to the Indians of the Arkansas country and not to the highlands of southern Missouri and northern Arkansas. Ashe, who traveled in America in 1816, referred to the "Ozark or Orkansas River" and to the "post of Ozark on the Orkansas River." Schultz mentioned the "Ozark" or "Arkansas" Indians in the account of his travels in the western states in 1807 and 1808. Cuming described Arkansas Post or "Poste aux Arkansas" and also referred to it as the "settlement of Arkansas or Ozark" when he toured the western country during the years from 1807 to 1809. He also mentioned an Ozark island.<sup>6</sup> Bradbury, who traveled extensively from 1809 to 1811, used the word when he said, "I had intended to remove from St. Louis to Ozark (or more properly Aux-arcs) on the Arkansas. . . ." In the *Journal of Nuttall's Travels in the Arkansas Territory in 1818*, which was published in 1821, Nuttall used the word "Osark" to apply to the Post and to the Indians. With reference to the latter, he said he believed the natives of Arkansas territory had ceased to use the name of Akansa or "Arkansa" and "generally call themselves O-quah-pa or Osark from which last epithet, in all probability has been derived the name of the river and its people; indeed, I have heard old French residents in this country term it Riviere des Arks or d'Ozark." At another point, he said that the "aborigines" of Arkansas Territory were now commonly called the "Arkansas or Quapaws and Osarks."

In the same year that Nuttall made his trip to the Arkansas region, Stephen H. Long began his expedition to the Rocky mountains and Edwin James' *Account of S. H. Long's Expedition, 1819-1820* is the first travel report found to apply the word "Ozark" to the highlands of Missouri and Arkansas. The term is used freely in the account and is applied according to the description given in the copy of a report made by Major Long to the Secretary of War, Philadelphia, January 20, 1821:

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<sup>6</sup>An island which Cuming described as about two miles in length near the junction of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers.

<sup>7</sup>Nuttall had accompanied John Bradbury into the Missouri country in 1810.

The first and most considerable is a range of mountains commencing within the Spanish province of Texas and stretching in a north-eastward direction, till it is terminated by the high lands on the lower part of the Missouri river. To this range we have given the name of the Ozark [263] Mountains, an appellation by which the Arkansa river was formerly distinguished, as also the tribe of Indians, since denominated the Quapaws, inhabiting near that river....

It will be noticed that Long made no claim to authorship of the appellation other than to say *we* used the word. Throughout the portion of the account written by James, the pronoun *we* is also employed when referring to the use of the term.<sup>8</sup> There is one statement, however, which solves the problem. James, himself, wrote of "the small group of Mountains we have already had frequent occasion to mention and which have received from Major Long, the name of the Ozark Mountains." James, therefore, gives the credit of naming the Ozarks to Major Long, and research thus far corroborates the conclusion that Major Stephen Harriman Long named the Ozarks.

The exact date when Long first used the term cannot be determined. Long made a trip through the Arkansas Territory in 1817 and 1818 and might have conceived the idea then. The notes which he made on that trip were not published and James' *Account* of Long's expedition of 1819-1820 contains the only reference to the earlier journeys of Long.

James, apparently, was not as indifferent to the highland region as were the earlier travelers. He said, "Though there is no point of great elevation in any part of the range, the whole is truly a mountainous region and well entitled to a distinct appellation."

A careful examination of numerous map collections and of maps in early geographies belonging to libraries and private individuals has led to the conclusion that the highlands of Missouri and Arkansas were not designated as the Ozark mountains on any maps published before 1822, though possibly

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<sup>8</sup>It was upon the basis of the use of *we* that Dr. L. H. Pammel, in the *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1907, attributed the use of the word to James, citing for proof the quotation from James: "We were now at the western base of that interesting group of hills, to which we have attempted to give the name of the almost extinct tribe of Ozarks, ...."



one so designating the mountains appeared in 1821. The atlas which accompanied the American edition of Edwin James' *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819-20, by Order of John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the Command of Major Stephen H. Long* (Philadelphia, H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1822-23) bore the date 1822. In this atlas, the maps of the "Country Drained by the Mississippi" bear the designation "Ozark Mountains" and the term also appears on the chart of the "Profile or Vertical Section of the Country on the Parallel of Latitude 38 Degrees North." These maps were engraved by Young and Delleker. In the same year, H. C. Carey and I. Lea published *A Complete Historical, Chronological, and Geographical American Atlas. . . According to the Plan of Le Sage's Atlas and Intended as a Companion to Lavoisne's Improvement of that Celebrated Work* (Philadelphia, 1822). Plate 35 of this atlas, "Map of Arkansa and Other Territories of the United States Respectfully Inscribed to the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, By S. H. Long, Major T Engineers," designates the Ozark Mountains as such and apparently was made from the Long maps in the *Atlas* volume of James' report of the expedition. In some copies of the Carey and Lea *Atlas* (1822), Plate 34, "Missouri," does not have the words "Ozark Mountains" printed on it, while other copies do bear the designation.

The New York Public Library has in its possession a map entitled "A Geographical and Statistical Map of the United States Adapted to Woodbridge's Geography" which was "entered according to Act of Congress the 28th day of September 1821. . ." This map is thought to have been taken from the atlas which accompanied the 1821 edition of *Rudiments of Geography*, by William Channing Woodbridge. The Ozark mountains are plainly designated as such on this map. The Library of Congress has a *School Atlas* by Woodbridge to which the date 1821 has been assigned and no map in this atlas shows the Ozark mountains. Unless an authentic copy of a Woodbridge map actually copyrighted in 1821 can be found, the date of publication cannot be definitely proved because the copyright date and publication date may not be

the same; additions and corrections have often been made on maps without any change in the copyright date. A comparison of a photostat negative of the "Geographical and Statistical Map" with maps in nine Woodbridge atlases was made in the Division of Maps in the Library of Congress, and the comparison indicates that the map must have appeared in a Woodbridge atlas between 1824 and 1831, if it were not published in 1821.

The *Rudiments of Geography* published by Woodbridge in 1821, 1823, and 1825, copies of which are in Harvard College Library, do not mention the Ozark mountains, nor does the *School Atlas* accompanying the *Rudiments of Geography* for 1823 and 1825. A biographer of Woodbridge said that in 1821 Woodbridge was gathering material for his *System of Universal Geography* (Hartford, 1824, 1st ed.), but that the book was not published apparently until 1824. It is in this *System of Universal Geography* (1824) that Woodbridge first described the Ozark mountains and he said that he used Long's narrative as a basis. *The Modern Atlas on a New Plan to Accompany the System of Universal Geography* (1824) bears the statement that it was "entered according to Act of Congress the 28th day of September, 1821." This map, however, does not correspond completely with the map previously mentioned. When Stephen H. Long made his report to the Secretary of War on January 20, 1821, he said that a map of the country situated between Washington City and the Rocky mountains would be reported as soon as it was completed. However, a copy of a map which accompanied Long's report is now on file in the War Department and the records of that Department seem to indicate that it was probably received in 1820. If so, it is possible that Woodbridge could have obtained some knowledge of the work of Long in plenty of time to copyright a map bearing the designation "Ozark Mountains" by September, 1821, yet it seems still more probable that the 1824 atlas was the first map Woodbridge published which showed the Ozark mountains.

Map makers were rather slow in using the name "Ozarks," although it appears fairly generally after 1825. The map of Missouri in the 1823 Carey and Lea *Atlas*, the 1824 map of

Missouri by A. Finley, and the map of the United States in the *Modern Atlas on a New Plan to Accompany the System of Universal Geography* by William Channing Woodbridge (Hartford, 1824) adopted the use of the term. On the other hand, H. S. Tanner, who probably depended upon Nuttall's information, did not designate the Ozarks in his *New American Atlas*. . . (Philadelphia, 1823). When describing the Ozarks in his *Universal Geography* (Philadelphia, 1827), M. Malte-Brun said that "this range of low mountains was nearly altogether unknown till within these few years and has not been delineated, so far as we know, in any maps hitherto published in this country."

In conclusion, it can be said that all research points to Stephen H. Long as the author of the term "Ozarks" as applied to the highlands of southern Missouri and northern Arkansas. Long's own statement indicates that he thought the name Ozarks an appropriate one for the mountains, since it was "an appellation by which the Arkansa river was formerly distinguished, as also the tribe of Indians, . . . inhabiting that river." The name must have been applied to the mountains between 1817 and 1820, and it appeared on maps at least as early as 1822, and possibly on one map published as early as 1821.

#### RED-LETTER BOOKS RELATING TO MISSOURI.

*An Illustrated History of Missouri; Comprising Its Early Record and Civil, Political, and Military History from the First Exploration to the Present Time.* By Walter Bickford Davis and Daniel S. Durrie. (St. Louis, A. J. Hall and Company; Cincinnati, Robert Clarke and Company, 1876. 639 p.) In its issue of May 14, 1876, the *St. Louis Missouri Republican* printed the following item:

A new illustrated history of Missouri by Walter B. Davis, assisted by Daniel S. Durrie, A. M., is now in course of preparation and will shortly be given to the public. The whole will make a book of 800 pages and form the most complete history of the state ever published.

It was true that at this time Missouri, in common with many neighboring states, lacked a comprehensive account of

its history in book form. Periods and localities had been covered adequately, but no general history of substantial length had appeared.

The volume announced was to be one of a series of state histories, commercially inspired on the familiar subscription book plan and written by a small group of minor historians whose headquarters apparently were in Madison, Wisconsin, where the State Historical Society's collection offered superior facilities for historical research. In the mid-seventies members of this prolific little band, paced by one Charles R. Tuttle, in whose veins ink must have coursed, produced histories of Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Missouri.

Early in January, 1877, the history of Missouri was ready for distribution. It proved to be an octavo volume of 639 pages instead of the promised 800, but that the scope of the book was not contracted is shown by the statement on the title page that the work also included:

An encyclopaedia of legislation during the administrations of the governors from M'Nair, 1820, to Hardin, 1876: with the topography, geology, and geography of the state; historical sketches of religious denominations; of schools and colleges; of the counties separately, embracing narratives of pioneer life, personal reminiscences, description of localities, soils, and climate; agricultural, commercial and educational advantages, and biographical sketches of prominent citizens.

In the St. Louis city directory the firm of A. J. Hall and Company appears only in the classified section under Publishers. There the entry reads: "Hall, A. J. & Co., Ill. History of Mo., 1010 Locust." This indicates that the company was organized for the issuance of the one book, and a review of the history in the St. Louis *Daily Times* of January 14, 1877, yields evidence that A. J. Hall and Company were merely the instrument for obtaining subscriptions. The review, an interesting and on the whole a discriminating appraisal of the book, is reproduced here as an example of contemporary comment:

An Illustrated History of Missouri. St. Louis: A. J. Hall & Co. The difficulty with the historical and descriptive accounts of Missouri which we have thus far had has been that the governing motive of most of them has been the making of money, and that they have been largely

devoted to advertising purposes. The idea of writing a genuine history of Missouri, which shall be at once accurate and interesting, truthful and well-written, and at the same time entirely unconnected with catchpenny considerations, does not seem to have occurred to any of our *soi disant* historians. The work mentioned above is relieved to a considerable extent of the excrescences that have disfigured previous publications of its kind, and yet it is far from being what it ought to be. It is a large octavo volume of over 600 pages and is the production of Walter Bickford Davis and Daniel S. Durrie, who are supposed to be residents of Wisconsin, and who have constituted themselves historiographers of the West, traveling from place to place and manufacturing histories for various localities. All the work, including the printing and binding, has been done in other states, and Missouri has only furnished the field for the labors of these gentlemen. This is not in itself objectionable, but the work could have been done here at least as well as it has been done elsewhere, and a strong claim upon the consideration of the people of Missouri would thus have been established.

The book shows laborious research and a careful compilation of facts, but beyond this the literary merit is not conspicuous. The history of Missouri which the people demand requires something more than a continuous record of dry details, which, however valuable as facts, are presented in a bald and uninteresting manner. The history of Missouri offers many points of peculiar vividness, and many thrilling and romantic situations, such as a historian who pursues his work in the love of it would delight to make the most of; but they seem to have been beyond the grasp of the makers of this book, who have carefully raked together all the dry branches, omitting the green leaves and fresh flowers of the forest. In a word, they have not entered into the *life* of Missouri, and have given the shell without the kernel.

This work comprises a historical account of Missouri from the time of De Soto to the admission of the territory as a state, and subsequent accounts of the administrations of all the governors, from McNair to Hardin, followed by descriptions of each county, its soil, productions, etc., and concluding with the usual array of biographical sketches. The historical portions are generally accurate, but with nothing to relieve their dryness of detail. The chapter devoted to the history of Missouri during the rebellion is partially unfair and generally unsatisfactory, and it would be impossible for a person unacquainted with the situation to gain anything like a clear idea of it from these pages. Our Wisconsin friends seem to have desired to slur over that important period, because they were either unable to appreciate the character of the people of Missouri, or unwilling that their own sympathies should become manifest.

The illustrated portion of the book consists mainly of a large collection of passable wood cuts of men, a few of whom deserve the prominence that is given them, but most of them, whatever their local fame may be, strike the reader as utter strangers.

Predisposed towards frugality in the matter of praise, the reviewer neglects the good points of this pioneer effort. It was carefully compiled from authoritative printed sources, and the compact style competently serves the purpose of the authors. The "dry branches" of fact are permanently useful; literary floral pieces soon wither.

The reviewer's criticism of the treatment of the Civil war period is on the whole justified. One has but to compare this chapter with Switzler's<sup>1</sup> account of the conflict to realize how handicapped Davis and Durrie were by their lack of personal experience. The confused political and social backgrounds of the struggle in Missouri were quite beyond their ken, and a single decade was not sufficient to grant outsiders a perspective. Where the narrative of Switzler has the easy flow and the proportion of intimacy, that of Davis and Durrie is merely a confusion of incidents. This is the one serious weakness in an otherwise extremely useful work.

Other reviews of the history, favorable, but also rather perfunctory, appeared in the *Missouri Republican* of January 13, 1877, and in the *Magazine of American History* for March, 1877.

Walter Bickford Davis has remained little more than a name on a title-page, but upon gleaning the city directories of Madison, Wisconsin, and of St. Louis we gain a dim light. The Madison directory for 1875-76 lists a Walter B. Davis, publisher; the next issue, 1876-77, enters him as W. B. Davis. The Madison directories then drop him and the St. Louis ones apparently pick him up as follows:

(1877) Davis, W. B. (A. J. Hall & Co.) r. 1314 Olive.

(1878) Davis, Walter B. (A. J. Hall & Co.) r. 1314 Olive.

(1879) Davis, Walter B. gen'l ag't New England Mutual Life Ins. Co. of Boston, 417 Locust, r. 1314 Olive.

Here identity hangs on the frail thread of a residential address. Concerning Davis the insurance agent, Mr. Glover

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<sup>1</sup>William F. Switzler contributed the historical section to *The Commonwealth of Missouri, A Centennial Record*; edited by C. R. Barns (St. Louis, 1877). It was published some months after the Davis and Durrie history. An outstanding authority on the history of the State, Switzler was obviously better qualified to tell its story than were the authors under discussion.

S. Hastings, superintendent of agencies of the New England Life Insurance Company, writes:

Mr. Davis was appointed agent for Missouri on February 5, 1879. He was born at Rumney, N. H., on July 24, 1835.<sup>2</sup> He was six feet two inches tall and weighed about 150 pounds; his complexion was dark and his carriage was straight. He was married at the time he was appointed our general agent. His father was living at the time and had then reached 78 years of age. He had one brother, age 47, and two sisters, ages 51 and 53. He carried \$11,500 of insurance in the New England Mutual, and the last policy, for \$2,000, taken out on November 8, 1884, was payable to Ellan M. Davis, his mother. The examination for insurance was made by Dr. W. T. Gregory, who reported, among other things, that Mr. Davis was of a nervous disposition. He died on March 12, 1885.

In its brief account of the death of Davis, the *Missouri Republican* stated that he "was sick only about eight days from pneumonia. He was a native of New Hampshire, but came here from Wisconsin. He leaves a widow and several children at his residence, 3857 Washington avenue."

Daniel Steele Durrie, co-author with Davis, was thoroughly experienced in the production of local histories. His published writings include: *History of Madison, Wisconsin, Including the Four Lake Country*, (1874); *Illustrated History of Iowa* [with Charles R. Tuttle] (1876); *Genealogy of the Steele Family* (1859); *Genealogy of the Holt Family* (1864); *Bibliographia Genealogica Americana: an Index to American Genealogy* (1860); and many pamphlets on historical subjects.

A descendant of John Steele, the first secretary of the Colony of Connecticut, and of William Bradford, governor of Plymouth Colony, Durrie was born in Albany, New York, in 1819. After attending a seminary in South Hadley, Massachusetts, he returned to Albany, establishing a book-selling business there in 1844. Burned out in the disastrous Albany fire of 1848, Durrie soon after moved to Madison, Wisconsin, where he once more engaged in bookselling in 1850. In 1856 he was elected librarian of the Wisconsin Historical Society, a position he held until his death in 1892.

<sup>2</sup>The place and date coincide with those given in the vital records of New Hampshire, as furnished by the New Hampshire Historical Society. He is listed as the son of Jacob and Clarissa Davis.



The extent of Durrie's contribution to the Missouri history is conjectural. Tuttle, in his preface to the *Illustrated History of Iowa* (1876), credits him with the writing of the financial chapters in that book. It is hard to see how he could have done much of the actual writing of the volume on Missouri at the same time.

The catalogue of the British Museum enters under Davis and Durrie, in addition to the book already described, another title: *A Complete History of Missouri, from 1541 to 1876, etc.* [St. Louis, 1876.] 8.

No other catalogue that I have examined lists this variant, and it is not in the Library of Congress. Presumably it is a slightly later issue with a new title page.—Contributed by Clarence E. Miller, Assistant Librarian, St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.

#### TOPICS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

The bibliography which follows completes the bibliography on the "Civil War in Missouri" which was begun in the April issue of the *Review*. Regimental history has been included because it furnishes the basis of military history and because descendants of the participants may be interested in the records. Many of these histories are first hand accounts of the military encounters which took place in Missouri. Divided loyalties made the political history of the Civil war era obscure and tangled. The general histories of Missouri mentioned previously treated political history to some extent, but this bibliography lists the special political studies which have been made of the period. These studies are recent in date and were written from a detached viewpoint. So many of the battles, engagements, and skirmishes in Missouri were local in character that the history of the war in the State has been written in fragments. The differences of opinion within a "border state" have been responsible for the publication of more than one version of a single event and local pride and personal interest have resulted in many brief accounts. Therefore the list of local and special works is extensive, notwithstanding the necessity for omitting very brief publications, reminiscences, speeches, letters, and all accounts in Missouri county histories.

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## DO YOU KNOW, OR DON'T YOU?

That Missouri was the first state west of the Mississippi river to have a state entomologist? Charles V. Riley, internationally known entomologist and one of the founders of economic entomology in the United States, served as the first state entomologist of Missouri from 1868 to 1877. Riley was appointed entomologist of the United States department of agriculture in 1878 and continued in that capacity until 1894 with the exception of an interval of two years.

That the second section of the fifteenth amendment (negro suffrage amendment) to the Federal constitution was omitted in the joint resolution, March 1, 1869, by which the Twenty-fifth General Assembly of Missouri sought to ratify the amendment? A second joint resolution on January 10, 1870, ratified the second section, which gave Congress power to enforce the amendment.

That "The Pedlar; a Farce in Three Acts," by Alphonso Wetmore, was the first play written and published in Missouri? The play was published in St. Louis in 1821.

That Missouri is one of seven states in the United States which has sponsored lay cancer education, medical training to recognize cancer, and facilities for diagnosis and treatment?

That Worth county, the smallest county in Missouri (265 sq. mi.), is only four times as large as St. Louis City (61 sq. mi.)?

That Texas county, the largest county in Missouri (1,159 sq. mi.), is larger than the state of Rhode Island (1,067 sq. mi.)?

That when Asiatic cholera threatened St. Louis in the summer of 1832, a public meeting of the citizens set aside Friday, August 10th, as a day upon which the churches in St. Louis and their congregations should hold a day of "fasting, humiliation, and prayer" to avert the approach of the dreaded cholera? All worldly business was to be suspended and churches elsewhere in the State were urged to appoint such a day. This action was apparently stimulated by the opinion that "The whole history of the disease declares, in a voice not to be misunderstood, that it is the controversy of the Most High against the licentiousness of his creatures."

That the State of Missouri passed a law abolishing imprisonment for debt on January 17, 1843, twenty-six years before England enacted such legislation? Both Missouri and England began to make progress toward that end in the 1820s but even after 1869 imprisonment for six weeks was possible under certain circumstances in England.



That Judge Elmer B. Adams, eminent St. Louis jurist and federal judge, coined and first used the phrase, "the man higher up?" In 1903 when charging a grand jury investigating naturalization frauds, he urged the jury to "look not only for the little man who is made a tool but for the man who is higher up."

That the weekly press service entitled "This Week in Missouri History" prepared by the State Historical Society of Missouri is the oldest and most widely printed historical service of its kind in the United States?

That remnants of the Missouri tribe of Indians are supposed to be still living among the Oto in Oklahoma? The Bureau of American Ethnology gives the location of the old Missouri Indian village as about four miles below old Fort Orleans, near the mouth of Grand river and on the north side.

#### MISSOURI VERSE IN THE PIONEER PRESS

##### Communicated

Brave *Soldier citizen* to arms  
Obey your country's call,  
Prepare for war, and war's alarms,  
Let no base fears appal.

Repel th' invasion of your rights  
Th' invasion of your lands;  
Your injured country now invites,  
Attack the hostile bands.

Pursue the savage o'er the plain,  
And his more savage mate,  
Drive from this world into the main,  
And hasten his dire fate.

Wait not th' attack of foreign slaves,  
But boldly charge them home,  
From fields and forts to stormy waves,  
Wherever they may roam.

Display your zeal, your courage shew,  
And persevere in war,  
Till your proud foes are all laid low  
Or driven to afar.

As brothers then march forth in might,  
Invasion to repel.  
Of this choice land and each dear right,  
And choke the savage yell.

J M'F.<sup>1</sup>

Cape Girardeau, 7 Dec. 1812.

From the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette*, January 2, 1813.

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The Sons of the West

Ye sons of Missouri attention I crave,  
I'll sing you a fong concerning the brave,  
Its of General Andrew Jackson, Carroll, Coffee, and the reft,  
And how the British have been beaten by the fons of the weft.

All thofe officers I've named tho' but one two or three,  
They have faced those hostile Britons in defence of liberty.  
They declare of all the generals, Andrew Jackson is the beft,  
For he is the guardian angel of the people of the weft.

At the Battle of the 8th, at New Orleans they say,  
The British they were forc'd for to yield themselves a prey;  
They loft their chief Pakenham with 1500 of the beft,  
They say they cannot ftand to fight againft the sons of the weft.

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph McFerron served as a public officer of Cape Girardeau district and county from the time the United States took control of upper Louisiana until Missouri's first State government went into effect. He had settled in the Cape Girardeau district previous to 1804 and is said to have taught school in the American settlement there. He was the first clerk of courts in Cape Girardeau district and became clerk of the circuit court when the county was organized. He served as a member of the first State constitutional convention of 1820 and was elected to the first house of representatives from Cape Girardeau county, but resigned to accept the appointment of clerk of the fourth circuit of Missouri. McFerron was a native of Ireland who became a naturalized citizen of the United States. He was said to have been a man of extensive knowledge, independent in his thinking, and held in high esteem by his fellow-citizens. The poem above was his second to be published in the *Missouri Gazette*. Other poems which he wrote appeared from time to time until his death near Jackson, Missouri, March 4, 1821.

Old Johnny Bull in sleeping had many curious dreams,  
Till at length he dreamed of taking the city of Orleans,  
He says of all the troops in Europe: Wellington's are the best,  
And I'm sure they will take New Orleans from the people of the west.

They besieged New Orleans, the contest was warm,  
At length they drew conclusions they would take it by storm,  
They rush'd on with all their forces but in vain they did arrest,  
For they could not scare the brave heroic sons of the west.

Johnny Bull is now convinc'd that his troops cannot fight;  
For he's lost 6000 of them and the rest were put to flight,  
Johnny Bull now for the future, better plans he must suggest,  
Or he'll never take New Orleans from the heroes of the west.

*Alexander M'Alister.*

Gravois, Feb. 1st, 1815.

From the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, March 18, 1815.

MR. CHARLESS,

*If you should have a vacant corner in your Gazette, which you cannot conveniently fill with more important matter; by inserting the following home-made song you will oblige a*

ST. CHARLES FARMER.

#### A DIALOGUE.

Between an Assemblyman and Farmer.

*Assemblyman.*

My friend and dear neighbor, O how do you do,  
Have you seen the new laws we've been making for you:  
In them we've unfolded the wisdom of man.  
They now are all published and spread thro' our land.  
We made these wise laws for great honor I say,  
For honor I say, and three dollars a day!  
We made these great laws and laid aye and laid nay,  
For honor I say, and three dollars a day.

*Farmer.*

I've read the new laws which your honor doth name  
And am forc'd for to tell you I censure the same,  
Our laws are now lamer than ever before,  
And taxes increas'ing and making us poor.  
Our taxes are growing, and now are a curse,  
Our laws have been altered from bad into worse,  
If your honors go on as you now have begun,  
Our farmers are ruin'd, they are surely undone.

*Assemblyman.*

Ah stop my good friend, I am struck with furprife,  
 To hear you thus cenfure the acts of the wife:  
 Thefe laws were all made by the wife and beft.  
 From north and from fouth, and from eaft and weft.  
 And taxes not hard—are not hard for to pay,  
 While we get our three dollars—three dollars a day;  
 We made thefe great laws, and faid aye and faid nay,  
 For honor I fay and three dollars a day.

*Farmer.*

Your honour then thinks that your laws as they ftand,  
 Could never be rendered more perfect by man,  
 And never will charge us for altering again,  
 But as you now have them we'll let them remain.  
 For our taxes are growing and now are a curfe,  
 Our laws have been alter'd from bad into worfe,  
 If you honors go on as you now have begun,  
 Our farmers are ruin'd they are fully undone.<sup>1</sup>

*Assemblyman.*

My friend and kind neighbor, O harken to me!  
 Your schemes would break up our assembly I see,  
 Without we enact, and amend and destroy,  
 We never could find fufficient employ,  
 We must make, and repeal and fit day after day,  
 Or can't get our three dollars—three dollars for pay.  
 We must make and repeal and say aye and say nay,  
 For honor I say, and three dollars a day.

St. Charles June 2d, 1815.

From the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, June 17, 1815.

<sup>1</sup>A survey of the taxes imposed by the territorial law of January 21, 1815, reveals that the "Farmer" might have been subject to the following territorial taxes:

1. Sixty cents for every hundred arpens of all lands claimed as a complete title, and on all lands confirmed or granted by the board of commissioners or the recorder of land titles of this territory, and on all lands claimed or confirmed by any act of Congress.
2. Twelve and one-half cents for every hundred arpens of all pre-emption rights or on all lands claimed under the Spanish government not included in the preceding list.
3. Thirty cents for every hundred dollar valuation on town lots with improvements and dwelling houses in the country.
4. Sixty-two and one-half cents for every slave above the age of ten years.
5. One dollar and fifty cents for every hundred dollar valuation on every wheel carriage.

In addition, small county taxes might be levied upon horses, mules, and cattle above three years old; and not more than fifty cents on slaves between the ages of sixteen and forty-five. Bachelors of twenty-one and more and not possessed of property of the value of two hundred dollars might pay a tax of no more than fifty cents.

*To the FARMER that sung the little country song last week,*

Farmer Cole fends his greeting too,—  
 For in his rage he'll not pursue,  
 But of this matter will explain  
 The cause of which you so complain.  
 Then know you farmer, for its true,  
 That moft of farmers—well as you  
 Are negligent about their choice,  
 Nor care for whom they give their voice,  
 A man so dunce, he cant spell WHO  
 First man elect of all by you.  
 A man of science you defpife,  
 And so the man that fees with eyes;  
 Your choice *too frequently* has been  
 Too much made up with grog and whim.  
 When you think o'er and search the caufe,  
 You'll find 'tis you that make bad laws.  
 Then for farmers, thus to complain,  
 Shows something wrong yet in their brain,  
 I know our laws are weak, what then?  
 It was weak men enacted them;  
 If good laws you'd have enacted,  
 Be more careful who's elected;  
 Let merit then be rais'd on high.  
 With all her vot'ries ftanding nigh;  
 Protect her from the barb'rous hand  
 Of ignorance throughout our land,  
 'Tis then no more we'll fee this ftain,  
 Nor of our 'men and laws' complain.  
 Your tax is high 'tis very true,  
 All the ftates are tax'd like you;  
 We muft fupply our equal fhare,  
 Of government, our portion bear,  
 Perhaps the better way you'll find  
 Is, *do it with a cheerful mind.*

St. Charles—June, 1815.

From the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, June 24, 1815.

## HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

### ANNUAL MEETING AND DINNER OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The thirty-second annual meeting and dinner of the State Historical Society of Missouri were held in Columbia on April 14, 1938. Senator Allen McReynolds of Carthage, Missouri, president of the Society, presided.

At the meeting of the executive committee, Senator McReynolds was re-elected president of the Society. The other officers elected were Walter B. Stevens of St. Louis, first vice-president; George A. Rozier of Perryville, second vice-president; Marion C. Early of St. Louis, third vice-president; B. M. Little of Lexington, fourth vice-president; John T. Barker of Kansas City, fifth vice-president; Roy H. Monier of Carrollton, sixth vice-president; and R. B. Price of Columbia, treasurer.

The trustees elected to fill three-year terms expiring at this meeting were Ben L. Emmons, St. Charles; Stephen B. Hunter, Cape Girardeau; Waldo P. Johnson, Osceola; Langdon R. Jones, Kennett; Isidor Loeb, St. Louis; E. E. Swain, Kirksville; Chas. H. Whitaker, Clinton; and Roy D. Williams, Boonville. Jesse W. Barrett and McMillan Lewis of St. Louis were elected trustees for a two-year term.

Dr. Isidor Loeb of St. Louis, chairman of the finance committee, presented the financial report of the Society on behalf of the executive and finance committees. R. B. Price, treasurer of the Society, presented the treasurer's annual balance sheet and Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the Society, reported on the activities and progress of the Society during 1937.

Resolutions of appreciation on the life and work of the late Eugene Fair of Kirksville were adopted.

Dr. Wm. G. Bek, a former Missourian and now dean of the college of arts and science in North Dakota university, and Mr. C. B. Rollins, Sr., of Columbia, were elected honorary members of the Society at the meeting of the executive committee.

The annual dinner of the Society was held at the Tiger Hotel on the evening of April 14. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the Society, presided. Dr. R. C. Holliday of Columbia pronounced the invocation.

Senator Allen McReynolds, an officer of the Society since 1925, spoke on "The State Historical Society of Missouri, Its Purpose and Progress."

Mrs. May Kennedy McCord of Springfield, Missouri, had for the title of her contribution to the program "Stories and Ballads of the Ozarks." Brought up in the "Shepherd of the Hills Country," Mrs. McCord sang the old Elizabethan ballads of her native Ozarks and accompanied herself on the guitar. Her numbers were: "Rissitty Rossetty," "Barbara Ellen," and "Goodbye, Bonnie Blue Eyes," from "The Merry Golden Tree." Mrs. McCord also read the address prepared by Mr. Vance Randolph, who was originally scheduled to speak, but was unable to attend because of illness. The title of Mr. Randolph's address was "Folklore and Folkways of the Ozark Region."

The meeting and dinner were well attended, the out-of-town members present representing St. Louis, Jefferson City, Mexico, Fulton, Boonville, Brookfield, Kirksville, Carthage, Centralia, Springfield, Fayette, Richmond, Lexington, Webster Groves, Osceola, Marshall, New Franklin, Liberty, Glasgow, Rolla, St. Joseph, and St. Charles.

#### MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING THE SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

The following members of the Society have been active in recent months in increasing its membership: George A. Rozier of Perryville obtained eighteen new members; Justus R. Moll of Springfield, seventeen members; B. H. Jolly of St. Charles, fifteen members; Waldo P. Johnson of Osceola, eight members; Kenneth I. Fligg of Kansas City, six members; Mrs. L. H. Rozier of Ste. Genevieve, four members; Harris B. Dickey of Montgomery City, Suggett L. Edwards of Mexico, C. Stewart Gillmor of Kansas City, Henry J. Haskell of Kansas City, Mrs. H. C. Kundert of Kansas City, Elizabeth McReynolds of Jefferson City, Mrs. Harriett P. Sawyer of St. Louis, and Mrs. Sarah Lockwood Williams of St. Louis, two



members each; James Longstreet Cleveland of McBaine, Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles, Leo B. Frisch of Chicago, Chester H. Gray of Washington, D. C., Mrs. Eugenia Minor of Hannibal, E. P. Ryland of Los Angeles, Evert Stamback of Jefferson City, A. Stewart of Louisiana, and Chas. L. Woods of Rolla, one member each.

258 NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY, DECEMBER, 1937—  
MAY, 1938

During the six months from December, 1937, to May, 1938, inclusive, 258 applications for membership were received by the Society. The present total of annual members is 2,178 and gives the Society first rank in membership among state historical societies in the United States.

The 258 new members are:

Adams, Charles Frederick, Jefferson City	Bradley, Caroline S., Columbia
Allee, James W., Eldon	Brummett, Carl A., Webster Groves
Allee, Mrs. V. B., Kansas City	Brunke, M. F., Perryville
Allen, C. H., Independence	Buchner, L. C., Jr., Kansas City
Amend, Margaret M., St. Louis	Bullock, Orin M., Jr., Richmond, Va.
Anderson, Mrs. Gladys I., Hallsville	Bunceton High School, Bunceton
Anderson, James, Kansas City	Burnam, Mrs. Curtis, Colorado Springs, Colo.
Arbuckle, Millard F., St. Louis	Burrus, Lucy, Kansas City
Aull, Homer H., Liberty	Bush, Harry, Perryville
Bartlett, Mrs. Willard, St. Louis	Buzzard, Paul A., Kansas City
Baskett, Mrs. W. D., Fayette	Cady, Theodore S., Kansas City
Bass, Mrs. V. H., Portage des Sioux	Carron, Oscar A., Perryville
Bassett, Stanley, Kansas City	Carton, Mrs. Benoist, St. Louis
Becker, William H., St. Louis	Caruthers, W. C., Cape Girardeau
Belsher, Frances Williams, Jefferson City	Case, E. M., Kansas City
Bender, A. B., St. Louis	Choate, Reba E., Jefferson City
Bettis, Frank A., Kansas City	Cline, Ruby J., Columbia
Betts, Curtis A., Webster Groves	Cole, Mrs. Agatha, Union
Blowers, George, Jefferson City	Collins, Lillian, St. Louis
Blythedale H. S. Dist. No. 3, Blythedale	College of the City of New York
Board of Education, Linneus	Cooper, Ruby, Fayette
Board of Education, St. Louis	Corgill, Roy L., Kansas City
Boehner, Grace Allen, Chillicothe	Craig, James Thomas, St. Louis County
Boggs, J. Carr, Fayette	Crighton, John C., Columbia
Bourke, Thos. C., Kansas City	Crisler, A. K., Shreveport, La.

- Crisp, Ernest R., University City  
 Davis, Carson, St. Louis  
 DeFonds, Ardery V., Rochester, N. Y.  
 Deines, E. Hubert, Kansas City  
 DeLane, F. E., Kansas City  
 Dew, Samuel A., Kansas City  
 Diehr, Thelma, St. Charles  
 Donnell, Mrs. J. L., Kansas City  
 Drescher, Mrs. Warren P., St. Louis  
 Drury, Mrs. Gertrude, St. Louis  
 Edwards, Geo. C., New Franklin  
 Edwards, J. C., St. Louis  
 Elliott, Mrs. Ada M., Columbia  
 Endres, John J., Perryville  
 Espinosa, J. Manuel, St. Louis  
 Evans, L. Fred, Independence  
 Evans, N. D., Columbia  
 Fairmount School Dist. No. 37, St. Charles  
 Fane, Irvin, Kansas City  
 Felix, Richard, Pilot Grove  
 Ferri, A. C., Kansas City  
 Finnegan, C. L., Jefferson City.  
 Forster, Mrs. C. Marquard, St. Louis  
 Foster, George C., St. Louis  
 Fugate, Anna Brown, Armstrong  
 Garnett, J. A., Keytesville  
 Gerald, J. Edward, Columbia  
 Gieringer, Wallace W., Perryville  
 Gillmor, C. Stewart, Kansas City  
 Gillmor, Mrs. Lottie D., Kansas City  
 Gilman, Wilbur E., Columbia  
 Givens, Spencer H., Jefferson City  
 Goodson, John V., Macon  
 Graham, Mrs. Augusta H., Osceola  
 Graham, Fred R., Jefferson City  
 Grant, Howard W., Kansas City  
 Green, Elizabeth, St. Louis  
 Green, John R., Independence  
 Griffin, John J., St. Louis  
 Guthrey, C. G., Arrow Rock  
 Hackett, W. M., Kansas City  
 Hahn, Lewis Edwin, Columbia  
 Hanks, Ralf, Fulton  
 Hanna, Mrs. W. H., Fayette  
 Hartzler, J. D., Partridge, Kansas  
 Haseman, Leonard, Columbia  
 Hauener, Mrs. Richard M., West Alton  
 Hawkins, Mrs. Homer P., Glasgow  
 Hays, B. W., Jackson  
 Heathman, Marcus J., Paris  
 Helmich, Irene, Defiance  
 Hembree, Tom B., Jefferson City  
 Heyne, Arthur G., St. Louis  
 Hilpert, A. O., Perryville  
 Holman, Raymond G., Mexico  
 Holmlund, Mrs. A. H., Bucklin  
 Hopkins, Frank H., Westboro  
 Hotel Hoxsey, Mexico  
 Howse, Edward G., Jefferson City  
 Irvine, E. A., Jefferson City  
 James, Thelka, Lutesville  
 Jarrell, J. F., Topeka, Kansas  
 Jewett, Mrs. Charles Neil, St. Louis  
 Johnson, Mrs. I. L., St. Louis  
 Johnston, Louisa P., Kansas City  
 Jolly, B. H., St. Charles  
 Jones, Mrs. Robert McK., St. Louis  
 Jurden, A. L., Los Angeles, Calif.  
 Karr, Fred, St. Joseph  
 King, George F., Columbia  
 King, Roy T., Columbia  
 Kinyon, Henry H., Columbia  
 Kirkpatrick, Alice, Bonne Terre  
 Kline, George, Fayette  
 Knight, William H., Osceola  
 Kohler, Lloyd, Ellington  
 Latone, Lawrence W., Oak Grove, Va.  
 Lawson, C. C., Ste. Genevieve  
 Layton, Edwin J., Perryville  
 Leuenberg, Marie, St. Louis  
 Loberg, S. T., Perryville  
 Long, J. H., Jefferson City  
 Love, Wm. S., Charleston  
 Lynn, Caro, Norton, Mass.  
 McCaffree, W. T., Nevada  
 McComas, Mrs. S. A., Smithville  
 McDaniel, B. W., Kansas City  
 Macdonnell, C. R., Marshfield

- McDowell, F. M., Independence  
 McGuire, Mrs. Archie, Blackwater  
 McLean, David E., Kansas City  
 McMaster, Rose, Kansas City  
 McReynolds, Elizabeth, Jefferson City  
 Main Library, Civic Center, San Francisco, Calif.  
 Markham, Carrie, St. Louis  
 Mercier, F. Val, Perryville  
 Michel, Charles E., St. Louis  
 Miller, Clarence, St. Louis  
 Mook, Robert L., Leasburg  
 Morrison, Ira G., Fayette  
 Mueller, H. R., Columbia  
 Mumford, F. B., Columbia  
 Neibel, Oliver J., Kansas City  
 Newman, Eric P., St. Louis  
 Newman, Victor A., Kansas City  
 O'Connor, Thomas F., Winoski, Vt.  
 Overall, John H., St. Louis  
 Parker, Mrs. Sidney, Osceola  
 Parrish, H. E., Columbia  
 Patterson, A. Z., Kansas City  
 Perkins, Mrs. Albert L., St. Louis  
 Perkins, Sue S., Springfield  
 Peters, George L., Canton  
 Peterson, Wm. J., Iowa City, Iowa  
 Pfeifer, Wm. H., Webster Groves  
 Phillips, John M., New Haven, Conn.  
 Pippin, C. M., Waynesville  
 Pitkin, Thomas M., St. Louis  
 Pollock, Mrs. Catherine Clayton, Fayette  
 Porter, Mrs. Clyde, Kansas City  
 Potter, Marguerite, St. Louis  
 Prairie View School, Palmyra  
 Purdy, Lorene, Hannibal  
 Redman, Spence, Platte City  
 Revercomb, Harry C., Kansas City, Kans.  
 River, Ella M., Augusta  
 Robertson, Flavel, Kansas City  
 Robertson, Mrs. Flora, Webb City  
 Roblee, Mrs. Joseph H., St. Louis  
 Roeber, William H., St. Louis  
 Rollins, C. B., Jr., Columbia  
 Rollins, Mrs. Frank, Columbia  
 Rollins, James S., Columbia  
 Rose, Mrs. Cora Lee, Clayton  
 Rott, E. J., St. Louis  
 Rowse, Edward F., Washington, D. C.  
 Rozier, Carlisle E., Farmington  
 Rozier, Mrs. H. L., Jr., Ste. Genevieve  
 Rozier, Jules R., St. Marys  
 Ruff, John, Columbia  
 Rutledge, Mildred, Ste. Genevieve  
 Ryland, J. R., Brush, Colo.  
 St. Louis County Commission, Teaching of the Social Studies, Webster Groves  
 Sapp, Mrs. William D., St. Joseph  
 Sayles, George, Kansas City  
 Sellers, John J., Hartville  
 Shafer, Jac G., St. Louis  
 Sheffer, Nina, Revere  
 Shenker, Morris A., St. Louis  
 Simrall, T. S., Boonville  
 Singleton, Caroline Bates, St. Louis  
 Smith, Mrs. Geo. W., Fayette  
 Snodgrass, W. R., Kansas City  
 Souttee, Mrs. Rosalie K., O'Fallon  
 Star of the Prairie School, O'Fallon  
 Stauffer, Grant, Kansas City  
 Stephenson, Lyle, Kansas City  
 Stewart, Haley, Louisiana  
 Stewart, Virginia, Kansas City  
 Strickland, Mrs. Rogers N., Glasgow  
 Summers, Arthur L., Osceola  
 Szego, Gabriel, Webster Groves  
 Taylor, John H., Chillicothe  
 Thatch, Dewey P., Osceola  
 Thomas, W. O., Kansas City  
 Thorpe, Kenneth M., Kansas City  
 Timmons, Scott R., Kansas City  
 Tolson, Wilbur R., Osceola  
 Todd, T. B., Nevada  
 Truex, C. M., Liberty  
 Tucker, R. C., Kansas City

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|--|-------------------------------------|
| Tygett, Glenn J., Cape Girardeau         | Whitlow, Louise, Honolulu, Hawaii   |
| Van Tourenhout, C. L., Ste. Genevieve    | Whitman, Mrs. Dorothy, Defiance     |
| Vardeman, C. B., Kansas City             | Wicklund, Mrs. Orah, Bucklin        |
| Vernon County Historical Society, Nevada | Wiley, Elizabeth A., Jefferson City |
| Vessells, F. M., Jr., Perryville         | Willer, Herman, St. Louis           |
| Vorst, Joseph L., Ste. Genevieve         | Williams, Frank B., Springfield     |
| Walker, Clifford L., Richmond, Va.       | Williams, H. T., Sedalia            |
| Walker, Marshall, Montgomery City        | Williams, James L., Kansas City     |
| Wallace, Arthur A., Boonville            | Williams, LeRoy, Kansas City        |
| Wallace, Victor A., St. Louis            | Williams, Tyrrell, St. Louis        |
| Walsh, Raymond A., Washington, D. C.     | Willis, E. T., Carrollton           |
| Watson, I. N., Kansas City               | Wilson, Frank P., Washington, D. C. |
| Watts, James, North Kansas City          | Windsor, W. C., Tyler, Texas        |
| Weeks, R. P., Brushyknob                 | Wise, Mrs. W. R., Mexico            |
| Weinbach, Mendell P., Columbia           | Wood, N. Ruth, St. Louis            |
| Welker, Web A., Clayton                  | Wright, Lillian, Columbia           |
| Westfall, Mrs. Ruth R., Columbia         | Wright, Walter, Bucklin             |
| Whissel, George B., St. Louis            | Yeckell, Louis F., St. Louis        |
|  | Yeomans, Mrs. Edwin S., Kansas City |

#### OUTSTANDING ACQUISITIONS

Supplementing the gift of old Lexington newspapers made a few years ago, the Lexington Public Library and Historical Association has donated the following of its duplicate files to The State Historical Society: *Lexington, Missouri Valley Register*, 1866-1870; *Lexington Register*, 1878-1880; *Lexington Caucasian*, 1866-1869, and 1870-1871; *Lexington Intelligencer*, 1875-1886; *Lexington News*, 1891-1895, and 1899-1901.

Mr. Marvin H. Crawford, editor of the *California Democrat*, has donated to the Society a volume of his paper for December, 1885, to December, 1887.

A typewritten copy of the old record book of Bethel Baptist Church, covering some activities prior to the organization of the church in 1806, and from that date to August, 1867, has been presented to the Society by Mrs. James W. Andrews of Fredericktown. This church was near Jackson, Cape Girardeau county, and is regarded as the first Baptist church organized in Missouri.

Miss Florence Lynch of Springfield, Missouri, has presented three volumes once owned by her father, the late William H. Lynch, to the Society as a memorial to him. Two small diaries contain notes of his Civil war experiences from February, 1864, to July, 1865, and of his life as a student in the University of Missouri thereafter. The third volume, owned by David Lynch in 1824, is *The Scholar's Arithmetic; or Federal Accountant*, by Daniel Adams, M. B., published in 1818.

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Six record books of Presbyterian churches now inactive were presented to the Society by the Rev. Wylie F. Steen of Carrollton, Stated Clerk of the Kirksville Presbytery. These are as follows: Laclede, 1866-1913 (2 volumes); Callao, 1910-1937; Center (later Meadville), 1890-1914; Tina, 1886-1921; and Blake Community (a union of Bethel and Prairie Valley churches, in Daviess county), 1924-1932.

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The Society has received from its former president, now its first vice-president, Mr. Walter B. Stevens, his Scrapbook No. 117, being the fourteenth donated to this library. The volume contains the series of weekly articles by Charles M. Harvey on "The Story of the Civil War," which began publication in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* in April, 1911. There are other war articles by Frederic H. Britton, as well as items during the 1870s.

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Recent newspaper acquisitions include a bound volume of the St. Joseph *Free Democrat*, 1859-1861; and the Elwood (Kansas) *Free Press*, 1859-1861, and a few issues of the latter for 1858.

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Fifteen early Missouri pamphlet imprints were donated to the Society by Mr. Claude E. Spencer, librarian of Culver-Stockton College, Canton, Missouri. Seven of these had been lacking in the Society's library.

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A typewritten copy of "Westport; the Queen City of the West During Its Premier Years; a Memory as Recalled by

William J. Johnson," has been presented to the Society by Mr. Albert N. Doerschuk of Kansas City, Missouri. Written in 1912, this paper recalls the life in Kansas City during 1855 and lists many prominent citizens and business buildings.

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A typewritten copy of a letter written in 1859 by Abraham Hunter to Lyman C. Draper, recounting the life of Joseph Hunter, his father, has been presented to the Society by Mrs. Minnie Sayers Smith of Sikeston, Missouri. Joseph Hunter was born about 1761 or 1762, later resided at Fort Jefferson, Kaskaskia, and Spring Station, before coming to Missouri.

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A typewritten copy of an "Historical Sketch of Webster Groves Lodge No. 84, A. F. & A. M." has been presented to the Society by Mr. Hayward Sturtevant of Webster Groves, Missouri.

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#### PHOTOSTATIC AND MICROFILM ACQUISITIONS

Microfilm copies have recently been made of the following files of old Missouri newspapers:

Palmyra *Spectator*, 1888-1898, and 1900; 3,758 pages, from the file owned by Mr. Don Sosey, editor of the *Spectator*.

Fulton *Gazette*, 1877-1898; 5,886 pages, from the file owned by Mr. Ovid Bell, president of The Ovid Bell Press, Fulton, Missouri.

California *News*, 1858-1865; California *Central Missourian*, 1865-1868; California *Democrat*, 1870-1872, 1880, 1901-1903; a total of 2,826 pages, from files owned by Mr. Marvin H. Crawford, editor of the California *Democrat*.

Lexington *Express*, 1844-1846, 1852-1855, 1859-1860; Lexington *Register*, 1866, 1870-1876, 1885-1886; Lexington *News*, 1889-1891, 1895-1899; Lexington *Intelligencer*, 1872-1873; Lexington *Lafayette County Sentinel*, 1876-1881; Lexington *Caucasian*, 1872-1873; Lexington *Union*, 1862-1865; Lexington *Post*, 1887-1888; and Lexington *American Citizen*, 1855-1857; a total of 6,146 pages, from the files owned by the Lexington Public Library and Historical Association, Lexington, Missouri. Special acknowledgment is made also to Messrs. Henry C. Chiles and Mr. B. M. Little, president and

vice-president respectively of the Association, for their courtesies in lending this file for microfilming.

The above files, covering the years from 1844 to 1903, make a total of 18,616 pages added to the Society's microfilm library. The courtesy and co-operation of the owners of these files have made it possible for the Society to make this noteworthy acquisition.

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A microfilm copy of the Missouri population schedules of the United States Censuses of 1830-1870, inclusive, has been purchased by the Society. The Federal Bureau of the Census, through its chief statistician, Dr. T. F. Murphy, kindly permitted the use of its negatives. The 1830 census covers 866 pages; that of 1840, 4,152 pages; that of 1850, 16,551 pages; that of 1860, 27,604 pages; and that of 1870, 41,950 pages—making a total of 91,123 pages. The first two of these list only the names of heads of families, but those of 1850, 1860, and 1870 list all members of the families, giving sex, age, place of birth, and other data.

Unfortunately the original manuscript volumes of the Missouri census of 1820 are lacking in the files of the Bureau of the Census in Washington and cannot be located for microfilming. It will be appreciated if friends of the Society can be of assistance in locating them.

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Through the courtesy of Mr. R. B. Chinn of Rocheport, Missouri, the Society has been permitted to make photostatic copies of two rare volumes containing the records of John R. White, a slave dealer of central Missouri. The first of these volumes contains records from December 24, 1844, to June 12, 1846; the second seems to date from 1846 to 1860. Note is made of the name of the slave bought, often the vendor, the price paid, to whom sold, and the price received, as well as occasional other data on price of transportation, medical care, board and room, loss by death, and so forth. Twenty-one additional papers, consisting of 44 pages, bring this unusual acquisition to a total of 254 pages.



Two manuscript record books have been microfilmed by this Society through the courtesy of the owner, the Glasgow Public Library, and Miss Hazel Price, a member of the library board. One of the volumes contains the Glasgow City Records, including the act of incorporation, with amendments, Council Proceedings of May 5, 1845-April 4, 1854, and Ordinances Numbers 1-154, etc.—a total of 270 pages; the other volume comprises the Journal of Feazel and Lewis, dealers in tobacco at Chariton and Monticello, February, 1843-February, 1848—a total of 158 pages.

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Lyman C. Draper Manuscripts, Numbers 22S99-275, 23S65-154, and 187-233, totaling 314 pages, were microfilmed for this Society through the courtesy of the owner, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and Miss Annie A. Nunns, assistant superintendent of that Society. These consist of Draper's interviews of 1868, and contain valuable data on the Boon's Lick country, St. Charles county and east central Missouri.

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The Society has received from Mr. Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles, Missouri, photostatic copies of five rare documents, and an impression of the seal of the St. Charles circuit court. Two of the documents relate to the controversy in 1823 between Benjamin Emmons, his ancestor, and Henry S. Geyer, over the position of acting governor during the absence of Governor McNair and Lieutenant Governor Ashley. Three letters of Governor McNair, written in 1820 and 1821, two of which are in the handwriting of William Grimes Pettus, secretary of state, transmit a copy of Missouri's "Solemn Public Act" to President Monroe and acknowledge the receipt of the President's proclamation on the admission of Missouri to the Union and of the Congressional resolution for the admission of Missouri.

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Through the courtesy of the owner, Mr. Edward Streck of Hermann, Missouri, the Society has obtained a photostatic copy of an 1846 poster advertising the "James H. Lucas,"

a St. Louis to St. Joseph steam packet. Dr. E. B. Trail of Berger, Missouri, kindly assisted in obtaining this copy for the Society's files.

#### PLATTE PURCHASE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION PLANNED

Plans are being made for a three-day centennial celebration of the Platte Purchase, to be held in St. Joseph, Missouri, on August 18, 19, and 20, 1938. A meeting of representatives from each county included in the Purchase was held in St. Joseph on May 16, 1938, and an executive committee was named to arrange a program for the celebration. Members of the committee, which met on May 25, 1938 to discuss tentative plans, include Fred Karr, Buchanan county, chairman; W. H. Weightman, Holt county; Grover C. Sparks, Andrew county; William E. Booth, Atchison county; J. H. Carson, Nodaway county; and B. J. Bless, Platte county. Douglas Timmerman, assistant manager of the Chamber of Commerce of St. Joseph, was named general secretary of the committee.

Tentative plans made by the committee include an historic pageant in Krug Park Bowl and a parade, in both of which all of the counties in the Platte Purchase area will participate. The pageant is to portray Indian life, the Purchase itself, the departure of the Indians and the arrival of the white settlers, and the outstanding developments and resources of the six counties. In addition to this program, a dinner will be given in St. Joseph by the State Historical Society of Missouri. A State appropriation of \$10,000 is available for staging the celebration.

#### ORGANIZATION MEETING OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF MISSOURI

The rapid development of an interest in local history throughout Missouri during the past few years and the work which the various county historical societies are doing to develop this interest were shown at an enthusiastic meeting of officers and representatives of local societies held in the rooms of the State Historical Society on April 14. The meet-

ing, held at the invitation of Floyd C. Shoemaker, is to be an annual affair to afford an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and information and to discuss mutual problems.

The local societies were represented by the following persons: Adair County Historical Society, E. M. Violette, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Boone County Historical Society, N. T. Gentry, C. B. Rollins, Sr., Mrs. J. F. Thompson, Z. M. Williams, Columbia; Clay County Historical Society, Mrs. Ethel M. Withers, president, Liberty; Howard and Cooper County Historical Society, L. A. Kingsbury, president, New Franklin, Charles van Ravenswaay, secretary-treasurer, Mrs. H. C. Neef, Roy D. Williams, Boonville, Miss Hazel Price, Glasgow; St. Charles County Historical Society, J. H. Jolly, president, Dr. Kate L. Gregg, historian, St. Charles.

Acting as temporary chairman, Senator Allen McReynolds of Carthage, president of the State Historical Society of Missouri, pointed out the close relationship between the activities of the county societies and those of the state group, and the desire of the State Society to give the local organizations every possible assistance.

A plan adopted on recommendation of a special committee calls for an informal organization consisting of the officers of the local groups which will make possible the discussion of mutual problems and the exchange of information of general value. J. H. Jolly, St. Charles, was selected president, and Charles van Ravenswaay, Boonville, secretary.

Reports covering the organization and program of the various societies were presented. While each county group was shown to be basically interested in the collection, preservation, and dissemination of historical information, the means for accomplishing these ends varied greatly.

Mrs. Ethel M. Withers, president of the Clay County Historical Society, described the organization of the association in 1934 as an attempt to preserve the historic court house at Liberty. Despite an active campaign, which enlisted the support of newspapers and interested individuals throughout the State, they did not succeed either in preserving the old building or in having a room, or any architectural detail, incorporated in the new building. The carved

wooden figure of Justice surmounting the old building, long a landmark in the county, was sold at public auction, and is now "hiding out" in a friendly garage.

However, the Clay County Society has met with increasing support despite the initial failure of its attempt to preserve the old court house. The county is fortunate in possessing Watkins Farm, said to be a completely preserved pre-Civil war Missouri plantation with its mansion, a mill, and the various units which formed an almost self-sustaining economic unit. During the past three years the Clay county group has been attempting to interest the State in preserving Watkins Farm as a state park and an historical museum.

Annual essay contests in the county schools are sponsored by the Society, with four cash awards to the winning students. The first year of the contest each pupil was asked to write about his particular community or township, choosing some landmark to discuss. The subject this year was "My Family's History."

As president of the St. Charles County Historical Society, J. H. Jolly presented the report for that group. "Our Society was organized in October of 1937," said Mr. Jolly. "Twenty years ago a society was contemplated but we were unable to develop an organization until this last year. At the present time we have no fees for membership and our only requirement is a membership in the State Historical Society."

The interesting feature of the St. Charles Society, Mr. Jolly explained, is the co-operation which they enjoy from each rural school teacher and school district, each school holding a membership in the State Society and receiving the Society's *Review*.

Information relating to early day St. Charles county is being gathered by the Society through an annual contest among school children, offering cash prizes. The subject is restricted to the history of the school district in which the participating student lives.

In connection with this searching out of factual material is a concentrated effort to locate points of historic importance and eventually to prepare a map of the city of St. Charles showing the various places of interest.

The report for the Historical Society of Howard and Cooper Counties was presented by its president, L. A. Kingsbury of New Franklin, and its secretary-treasurer, Charles van Ravenswaay of Boonville. Mr. Kingsbury told of the organization of the group in November, 1937, as an outgrowth of the efforts to preserve historic Thespian Hall, Boonville's early-day theatre. A bi-county group was formed because of the close relationship between the history of the two counties.

Mr. van Ravenswaay told of the organization and purpose of the Howard-Cooper group. Six meetings are held annually, one in each of the six larger towns of the two counties. The programs combine a talk on some phase of local history, a display of antiques or relics, and a presentation of early-day music related in subject to the theme of the talk. The program is followed by a social hour, affording an opportunity for the members to visit with old friends, to meet new ones, and to discuss matters of historical interest. The annual dues of the Society are fifty cents and the membership at present totals approximately 390.

In its efforts to collect and preserve historical data, early records of Arrow Rock, Glasgow and Boonville have been located and photostated for preservation in the archives of the State Historical Society. Important family papers, journals, and correspondence have been copied in the same fashion when the originals could not be obtained. Efforts are being made to interview old residents for historical information and county projects are being outlined for the copying of county records.

The public is made familiar with the work of the Howard-Cooper group through the medium of weekly sketches on local history which appear in the local newspapers. The officers plan eventually to use these sketches as the basis for a scholarly compilation of Boone's Lick country source material.

As a representative of the Boone County Historical Society, Judge N. T. Gentry of Columbia spoke briefly on the history of that county and told a number of illustrative incidents from its rich past.—Contributed by Charles van Ravenswaay.

## RECENT ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

An historical society for Saline county was formed at a meeting on April 19, 1938, at Marshall, Missouri, where the following officers were elected: Judge T. H. Harvey, president; Com P. Storts, vice-president; Mrs. Lee Carter, secretary; and F. C. Barnhill, treasurer. Floyd C. Shoemaker was present at the meeting and was the principal speaker. His address on the historical contributions made by Saline county to the history of Missouri appears in the Marshall *Daily Democrat-News* of April 20, 21, and 22, 1938.

An article by C. C. Guthrey appears in the *Daily Democrat-News* of March 5, 1938, over a month before the formation of the Society, suggesting that such an organization be formed.

At a meeting of the new society on May 10, 1938, at Marshall, a constitution and by-laws were adopted. About 150 members have already enrolled, and the society is steadily growing. In addition to the business meeting, Mrs. T. H. Harvey read a paper entitled "Saline County One Hundred Years Ago," and short talks were given by Com P. Storts of Slater, Judge T. H. Harvey of Marshall, and F. O. Shepard of Arrow Rock.

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The St. Charles County Historical Society met on April 16, 1938, at St. Charles, Missouri, with President B. H. Jolly presiding. Addresses were made by Dr. Thomas Pitkins, historian of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, and Floyd C. Shoemaker. Mr. Shoemaker's address on the history of St. Charles county is reprinted in the St. Charles *Daily Banner-News* of April 19, 1938, and the *Weekly Banner-News* of April 21, 1938. Dr. Kate L. Gregg of Lindenwood College made a report on the recent meeting of the State Historical Society and of local historical societies in Columbia, and Dr. Lloyd B. Harmon, who is in charge of the St. Charles historical pageant, told something about the forth coming pageant of progress, to be given in St. Charles in September.

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John Campbell Loos of Liberty, Missouri, gave the principal address at the regular spring dinner of the Clay County

Historical Society, held at Liberty on March 7, 1938. The title of Mr. Loos's address was "A Native Son Looks on Clay County." During the business session a memorial resolution was passed by the society in honor of the late Mrs. Anna Love, a former member. Honorary membership was conferred upon Stanton Field of Liberty, the son of a pioneer.

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Accounts of three monthly meetings of the Cape Girardeau County Historical Society appear in the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian* of March 1, March 30, and April 27, 1938, and the Jackson *Missouri Cashbook* of March 3, March 31, and April 28, 1938. Interesting historical talks were made and a number of historical papers were read at the meetings, and many additions were made to the society's archives.

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The Historical Society of Howard and Cooper Counties is sponsoring a series of historical sketches on the Boon's Lick country, and these releases are appearing in the newspapers of the two counties.

At a meeting of the Society on March 24, 1938, at Boonville, Mrs. Ray Hoberecht gave an address on old Adelphai College, which flourished in Boonville in the 1840's and 1850's. A number of old books and a collection of shawls were displayed, including items from the Adelphai period, and girls attired in costumes of that time sang for the members.

Dr. M. E. Gaddis, professor of history at Central College, Fayette, Missouri, was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Society on May 11, 1938, at Fayette. Dr. Gaddis spoke on "The Old Howard House and Its Neighbors." In addition to the regular program a group of beautiful old quilts was displayed. Accounts of these two meetings appear in the Boonville *Daily News* of March 25, and May 12, 1938, and the Fayette *Democrat-Leader* of May 13, 1938.

#### ST. JOSEPH CELEBRATES PONY EXPRESS DAY

Costumes of the sixties were the rule in St. Joseph, Missouri, on May 16, 1938, when Pony Express Day was observed in that city. Sponsored by the Macdonald-Dugger-



Duncan American Legion Post, the celebration included a ceremony at the old Pony Express stable where Mayor Phil Welch handed a rider a letter to the mayor of Sacramento, California, the western terminus of the Express. A special mail pouch was carried through St. Joseph by a relay of riders, eventually being put on a mail plane for Sacramento. A group of Indians of the Iowa tribe, White Cloud (Kansas) reservation, participated in the ceremonies. Programs were held all evening at the airport, and prizes were given for the best costumes worn. Accounts of the celebration appear in the *St. Joseph Gazette* of May 11, 14, 16, and 17, 1938, and in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of May 11, 14, 15, 16, and 17, 1938. Pages of pictures of the celebration and of historic figures connected with the Express, accompany the articles in the *News-Press* of May 16 and 17.

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An article in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of April 11, 1938, tells of the nationwide search for data on the story of the pony express. William B. Richardson, a resident of St. Joseph, in a supplementary article gives his memories of the day of the start of the first mail relay. Richardson, a boy at the time, hopped on a pony and caught the mail thrown him by the express agent as a joke, riding with the mail as far as the river. Then Johnny Frye (or Frey), the first real rider, took it and went on.

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The Platte Purchase will be the theme of a mural to be painted by George Gray, a New York artist, for the Hotel Robidoux, at St. Joseph, Missouri. Billy Richardson, who participated in the start of the first Pony Express, will be featured in a mural showing the start of the Express.—From the *St. Joseph Gazette*, May 19, 1938.

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An article entitled "A Real City in 1861," describing St. Joseph in the time of the start of the Pony Express, appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of May 1, 1938.

ATTEMPT TO REMOVE BODY OF MOSES AUSTIN FROM MISSOURI  
TO TEXAS

An attempt has been made by the State of Texas to remove the body of Moses Austin, founder of Potosi, Missouri, to Austin, Texas, to rest beside the body of his son, Stephen Austin, founder of Austin. The move was strongly opposed by the mayor and the population of Potosi, and the city council refused to grant permission to exhume the body to Thurlow B. Weed, Austin undertaker sent by the Texas Historical and Landmark Commission. Potosi citizens have organized a Moses Austin Memorial Association for the purpose of planning and securing contributions for the erection of a suitable memorial to Austin. His grave in the old Presbyterian and Masonic cemetery in Potosi is now marked by a four-foot monument inscribed with his name and the date of his death, 1820. Records, however, show that Austin died in 1821. Illustrated articles on the incident appear in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of April 24, 1938, the *Potosi Independent-Journal* of April 28, 1938, and the *Potosi Washington County News* of April 29, 1938. Other articles appear in the *St. Louis Star-Times* of April 22, 1938, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of April 22, 1938, and the *Post-Dispatch* of April 23, 1938.

A valuable biography of Moses Austin, showing evidence of much diligent research, appears in the *Globe-Democrat* of May 6, 1938. This well-written feature, which is accompanied by several illustrations, is the work of Harry R. Burke.

According to articles in the *Globe-Democrat* of May 8, 1938, the *Washington County News* of May 13, 1938, and the *Independent-Journal* of May 12, 1938, George William McDonald, St. Louis attorney, and great-great-great-grandson of Moses Austin, will donate his legal services to Potosi, should the State of Texas follow its plans of instituting court proceedings to secure the authorization for the removal of Austin's body to Texas.

## ERRATA

In the issues of the *Missouri Historical Review* for January and April, 1938 (pp. 145 and 402) it is said that the only reference to Missouri's boundaries in the *Revised Statutes of*

*Missouri*, 1929, is that found in Article I, Section 1 of the Constitution of 1875. This statement is incorrect.

The description of the boundaries of Missouri as set forth in Section 2 of the congressional act of admission approved on March 6, 1820, is found in the *Revised Statutes* of 1929, Volume I, p. 54. The boundaries of the State since the Platte Purchase was added are not described in the *Revised Statutes* of 1929.

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Attention has been called by C. M. Truex of Liberty, Missouri, to an error on page 270 of the January, 1938, issue of the *Missouri Historical Review*. Mr. Truex points out that the late J. C. Armstrong was not editor of the *Word and Way*, as was stated in the Review, but was for a good many years editor of *The Central Baptist*, a St. Louis publication which was later purchased by the *Word and Way*.

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#### ANNIVERSARIES

The 100th anniversary of the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church near Willard, Missouri, will be celebrated on April 3, 1938. The present church building is the third structure, both the original one and the one following it having been destroyed by tornadoes.—From the *Springfield News and Leader*, April 3, 1938.

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The 100th anniversary of Dade county's first courthouse was celebrated at the commencement exercises at Everton, Missouri, high school on May 19, 1938. A pageant depicting the past century of Dade county history, written by Mae Traller and Edna Haseltine, was presented.—From the *Kansas City Times*, May 20, 1938, and the *Greenfield Vedette*, May 19, 1938.

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The 100th anniversary of the founding of the first Baptist Church of Trenton, Missouri, will be observed with a series of special services beginning on May 22, 1938.—From the *Trenton Republican-Times*, May 19, 1938.

The 82nd anniversary of the founding of Macon, Missouri, was observed on March 12, 1938. When Macon was founded, Bloomington, the county seat, was the only thriving town in the county. In 1863, however, by a special act of the legislature, the county seat was moved to Macon, and from that time the town of Macon has flourished.—From the *Macon Chronicle-Herald*, March 12, 1938.

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The 75th anniversary of St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Columbia Bottoms, Missouri, will be observed in a six-day festival beginning on May 8, 1938.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 1, 1938.

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The 70th anniversary of St. John's Evangelical Church will be celebrated on May 15, 1938. The church was organized on March 1, 1868.—From the *St. Charles Cosmos-Monitor*, March 23, 1938, and the *St. Charles Banner-News*, May 12, 1938.

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The Baptist Church of Clarksdale, Missouri, will celebrate its 50th anniversary on April 3, 1938, with a special all day program.—From the *St. Joseph News-Press*, April 3, 1938.

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The 50th anniversary of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Marceline, Missouri, was observed on May 1, 1938. An account of the program and a brief history of Methodism in that section appears in the *Linn County Budget Gazette* of May 2, 1938.

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The La Grange, Missouri, *Indicator* celebrated the beginning of its 46th year with the issue of February 9, 1938. In that issue appears a list of the *Indicator's* predecessors in La Grange, and the dates of their publication.

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The Warrensburg *Star-Journal*, on February 10, 1938, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary under its present name. The *Star-Journal* represents a consolidation of papers that have served the county for seventy-three years. A brief history of the paper and its predecessors in Warrensburg appears in the *Star-Journal* of February 11, 1938.

## MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

Plans for the erection of a national archives building as a memorial to the late John R. Kirk, president and president emeritus of Kirksville State Teachers College, were recently announced. The building, to be financed by subscriptions, would house a collection of data on teachers colleges, with Dr. Kirk's private files as a nucleus for the collection.—From the *Kirksville Daily Express*, March 3, 1938. A feature story on Dr. Kirk and the proposed memorial appears in the *Kansas City Star* of March 14, 1938.

In honor of another president of Kirksville State Teachers College, the late Dr. Eugene Fair, a revolving loan fund known as the Eugene Fair Memorial Loan Fund has already been established to assist worthy students in obtaining a college education.

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A memorial fountain which has been erected on the William Jewell College campus in honor of Dr. John Priest Greene, president of the institution from 1892 to 1923 (excepting 1920), will be presented to the College by the class of 1913 at a dedicatory service on May 23, 1938.—From the *Liberty Tribune* and the *Liberty Chronicle*, May 19, 1938, and the *Kansas City Star*, May 22, 1938.

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A memorial plaque to the late Samuel McReynolds, president of the Carthage hospital board for nearly thirty years, was unveiled in McCune-Brooks Hospital at Carthage, on May 12, 1938.—From the *Carthage Evening Press*, May 12, 1938.

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A bronze plaque has been placed at the entrance to the Welfare Clinic in Community Hall, St. Joseph, in honor of the late Dr. Daniel Morton. The Clinic has been named in honor of Dr. Morton, through whose efforts it was established.—From the *St. Joseph News-Press*, May 22, 1938.

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Pictures of the twelve monuments and memorials that have been erected in Forest Park, St. Louis, since [it] was presented to the city and opened in June, 1876, appear in the *St. Louis Star-Times* of May 9, 1938.

## NOTES

A preliminary sketch of the Missouri State exhibit building for the New York World's Fair in 1939 was approved recently by the Missouri World's Fair Commission. The façade of the building will be modeled after the historic Ralls county courthouse, built in New London, Missouri, in 1858. Jamieson and Sperl of St. Louis are the architects for the State exhibit building.—From the *New London Ralls County Record*, April 1, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 27, 1938.

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A replica of the log cabin which housed Concordia Seminary when it was founded at Dresden, Missouri, in 1839, and which was removed to Altenburg in 1842 (?), was dedicated on May 8, 1938, on the campus of the Seminary in Clayton, where it is now located. The structure was built under the supervision of the Concordia Historical Institute.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 1, and the *St. Louis Star-Times*, May 9, 1938.

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A motion picture dealing with the history of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, founded in St. Louis in 1839, is being made by members of the church. The film, made in preparation for the 100th anniversary celebration next year, will be shown at the triennial convention of the synod in June.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 29, 1938.

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A play dealing with the early history of the settling of the Platte Purchase, entitled "Buildings on Bristle Ridge," will be presented at Conception College, Conception, Missouri, on April 27 and May 1, 1938. The play was written by the Rev. Edward Malone, O.S.B.—From the *St. Joseph News-Press*, April 25, 1938.

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A costume pageant depicting the history and growth of the Women's Missionary Union of the Baptist church in Liberty was presented at Liberty, Missouri, on May 3, 1938.

The play was written by Mrs. J. J. Bowman.—From the *Liberty Tribune* and the *Liberty Chronicle*, May 5, 1938.

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According to the *Eighty-Eighth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the State of Missouri*, for 1936-37, the number of first-class high schools in the State (exclusive of those in Kansas City and St. Louis) offering courses in Missouri history were as follows: In 1927-28, 18; in 1933-34, 215; in 1934-35, 273; in 1935-36, 285; and in 1936-37, 282. There are 964 high schools in the State, and 725 of these are first-class.

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The March, 1938, edition of *The College Farmer*, University of Missouri School of Agriculture publication, is dedicated to Dean Frederick B. Mumford, who for twenty-nine years has successfully directed the College of Agriculture, and to the 50th anniversary of the Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station.

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William Volker, Kansas City philanthropist, recently gave \$200,000, to be paid in four annual installments to the University of Kansas City's campaign for a \$750,000 fund. Mr. Volker had previously contributed \$50,000 to the institution for maintenance and operation during 1938.—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, May 15, 1938.

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Among the fifteen new members admitted to the National Academy of Arts and Sciences, on April 27, 1938, were Dr. Edward Adelberg Doisy of St. Louis University and Dr. Lewis John Stadler of the University of Missouri.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 29, 1938.

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Mrs. John Gasparotti of Moberly, Missouri, who writes under the name of Elizabeth Seifert, was recently awarded a \$10,000 first prize in a contest for new writers sponsored by Dodd, Mead and Company and *Redbook Magazine*. Mrs. Gasparotti won the prize with a novel entitled *Young Doctor Galahad*.—From the *Moberly Monitor-Index*, March 28, 1938.



Valuable genealogical and historical articles by Mrs. J. W. Andrews continue to appear in the Fredericktown *Madison County Press*.

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A series of articles by Miss Hazel Price dealing with the finding of the minutes of the meetings of the first mayor and council of Glasgow, Missouri in 1845, are appearing from time to time in the Glasgow *Missourian*, the first article appearing on March 17, 1938.

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An article by Jewell Mayes appearing in the Richmond *Missourian* of May 16, 1938, discusses the three versions of the question of the identity of the first settler of Ray county. This article is number 425 of a valuable series entitled "Ray County Chapters."

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A history of Savannah, Missouri, compiled by the Reverend Frank J. Maple, and reprinted from *The Co-Operator*, magazine of the Co-Operative Club, appears in the Savannah *Reporter* of May 6, 1938.

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An account of some of the early lawyers of DeKalb county appears in the Maysville *DeKalb County Record-Journal* of February 24, 1938. The history was compiled by K. B. Randolph, a St. Joseph attorney and a former resident of DeKalb county.

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A series of articles entitled "Pleasantown Paragraphs" have been appearing in the St. Joseph *Sunday News-Press* for approximately a year. These unsigned features portray life in a typical Missouri community of several generations ago.

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A series of articles by Bertha Booth entitled "Directory of Historic Sites in Hamilton" is appearing in the Hamilton *Advocate-Hamiltonian*. The first of the series appears on February 17, 1938. Other historical articles by Miss Booth which have appeared in recent months are "Street Names in Hamilton," (October 28, 1937); a series of four articles entitled "History of Creeks in Caldwell and Daviess Counties,"

(beginning on November 18, 1937); and a series of three articles entitled "Groves in Caldwell County," (beginning on January 13, 1938).

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The first of twelve installments of the diary of a Brookfield soldier during the World War, entitled "Corporal Brook Field's War Diary," appears in the Brookfield *Linn County Budget-Gazette* of April 27, 1938.

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An article by Irving Gilmer, based on recollections of his boyhood home at Missouri City, Missouri, appears in the *Liberty Chronicle* of March 3, 1938.

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An article by Colonel John B. Barnes, which appears in the Boonville *Daily News* of March 28, 1938, gives the history of the city cemetery at Boonville and some human interest stories related to the old monuments and markers found there.

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A letter written in 1850 by Dr. I. N. Hunter, pioneer Mexico druggist and former editor of the *Mexico Ledger*, to his cousin in Indiana, describing life in Missouri in that period, appears in the *Mexico Evening Ledger* of April 14, 1938.

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The story of the tragic explosion of the river steamer *Saluda* near Lexington, Missouri, on April 9, 1852, appears in the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of March 27, 1938. Another article on the destruction of the *Saluda* appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of April 10, 1938. The bell of the boat which was hurled to the shore, now hangs in the steeple of the Christian church at Savannah, Missouri.

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An illustrated article on the Des Peres Presbyterian Church, 105-year old institution in St. Louis county, appears in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of April 12, 1938.

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A feature story in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of March 13, 1938, gives brief histories of old landmarks in St. Joseph. The Junior Chamber of Commerce of that city is sponsoring a movement to preserve and mark some of these historic sites.

The December, 1937, issue of *Tower Gleams*, publication of Central High School, St. Joseph, Missouri, built on the theme "The Hundred Years Following the Platte Purchase" contains several articles of historical interest.

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A history of an old Jefferson City riverfront building, a combination hotel and general store that was the scene of much action during the days when river traffic flourished, appears in the *Jefferson City News and Tribune* of March 13, 1938.

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C. C. Guthrey, in an article in the *Marshall Daily Democrat-News* of February 21, 1938, gives brief accounts of the early pioneers in the field of education in Saline county.

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An article entitled "Early History of County As Related in Address by Judge T. H. Harvey in August 1900," appears in the *Marshall Daily Democrat-News* of May 9, 1938.

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An article entitled "Pioneers in Cass County Settled in Wooded Parts," appears in the *Harrisonville Cass County Democrat* of April 28, 1938.

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The Kansas City School of Law has been merged with the University of Kansas City, it was announced recently. An article in the *American Law Review* of May, 1938, gives a brief history of the institution, which was founded nearly forty-two years ago. Edward D. Ellison and Elmer N. Powell, the only surviving members of the original founders and the first staff of officers, are still active in the law school, Mr. Ellison serving as dean, and Mr. Powell as secretary and treasurer. An article on the School and its recent merger appears in the *Kansas City Star* of May 19, 1938.

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A history of Wentworth Military Academy at Lexington, Missouri, appears in the *Lexington Advertiser-News* of May 12, 1938.

Accounts of seven St. Joseph train robberies, occurring during the period 1878-1903, appear in an article in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of April 17, 1938.

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A feature story by Esther Sparling Kales, entitled "How Two Cities at Kaw's Mouth Got Tagged With the Same Name," appears in the *Kansas City Times* of April 5, 1938.

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An article by Harry T. Brundidge, entitled "Polish Community Flourishes in St. Louis," appears in the *St. Louis Star-Times* of March 4, 1938.

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An article on the Missouri Indians and their culture, by J. Brewton Berry, secretary of the Missouri Archaeological Society, appears in the *Missouri Magazine* of March, 1938.

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An article entitled "Missourians to Revive Campaign Song of 1900" appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of April 24, 1938. The song, entitled "Grand Old Missouri, She's Good Enough For Me," was written by James H. Hillis of McFall, Missouri, the nominee of the People's Party, to be used during his gubernatorial campaign in 1900.

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An article entitled "Liberty Ladies' College Was Destroyed by Fire 25 Years Ago Last Night" appears in the *Liberty Tribune* of February 24, 1938.

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Articles by A. Loyd Collins on pioneer events and people in Clinton, Missouri, appear in the *Clinton Daily Democrat* of March 10 and March 11, 1938.

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A biography by Frank C. Wornall entitled "Personal Recollections of My Father-In-Law, Charles E. Kearney, Pioneer City Builder" appears in the *Kansas City Star* of February 27, March 6, and March 13, 1938.

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An article by Martin B. Dunham entitled "Jesse James Once a Visitor in Callaway" appears in the *Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette* of February 26, 1938.

The first issue of *The Lincoln Review*, a publication of historical miscellany for the preservation of current and past attainments of Lincoln county, Missouri, appeared in March, 1938. Andy J. Brown of Troy, Missouri, is collator of the magazine.

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An article entitled "St. Joseph Bandmaster Recalls War of 1898" appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of February 27, 1938.

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A letter written by Cole Younger, a former resident of Harrisonville, Missouri, in the pre-Civil war days, is reprinted in the Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat* of March 31, 1938. The letter was written to Younger's aunt.

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An article by Colonel John D. McNeeley of St. Joseph, Missouri, entitled "Times Change, and So Do Laws of Missouri," appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of February 27, 1938. Colonel McNeeley tells in this article of many of the once-important sections of the law that now have a humorous aspect.

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A history of the Cass County Normal Institute, which for almost twenty-five years held summer sessions for the county school teachers, appears in the Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat* of February 24, 1938.

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A biography of W. B. Davis, pioneer Missourian who died recently at Pleasant Green, Missouri, appears in the *Sedalia Democrat and Capital* of February 27, 1938.

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An article entitled "Mrs. S. P. Peterman Relates Many Interesting Facts About Saline County's Early History" appears in the Marshall *Daily Democrat-News* of March 9, 1938.

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A history of the various bands that have existed in Clinton, Missouri, since the organization of the first in 1869 appears in the Clinton *Daily Democrat* of February 24, 1938.

The name of Sugar Lake State Park, located near St. Joseph, Missouri, has been changed to Lewis and Clark State Park by the state park board. The name of Sugar Lake itself will not be changed. According to the records of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the explorers camped in the vicinity of the lake on July 4, 1804.—From the *St. Joseph News-Press*, April 30, 1938.

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Stories of pioneer settlers and settlements along Medicine Creek in Putnam county, Missouri, appear in an article entitled "Early Medicine Creek," published in the *Unionville Republican* of April 27, 1938.

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An article by J. L. Ferguson on "Uncle Matt" Houx, well-known farmer near Warrensburg during the Civil war, appears in the *Warrensburg Star-Journal* of May 10, 1938.

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A letter written by H. W. Oliver describing some of the Civil war experiences of his father, Joseph W. Oliver, appears in the *Memphis Reveille* of April 28, 1938.

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An article by Carl McIntire, Jr., entitled "McCandless Cemetery: No Burials Have Been Made There in More Than Thirty-Five Years," which appears in the *Carrollton Weekly Democrat* of April 8, 1938, describes the cemetery and quotes some of the gravestone inscriptions found there. An article on another old Carrollton cemetery appears in the *Weekly Democrat* of May 6, 1938. The site of this cemetery is now occupied by a school building.

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An article on the first railroad postoffice in the United States, which was placed in service in Missouri on a railroad line between Hannibal and St. Joseph, appears in the *Macon Chronicle-Herald* of May 13, 1938.

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A story describing the smuggling of clothing to rebel troops by five sisters living near Boonville, Missouri, during the Civil war, appears in the *Boonville Daily News* of April

30, 1938. The story is based on incidents described in the papers of the late Mrs. Victoria Johnson Quarles, who was one of the sisters.

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An account of the battle of Lexington and a description of the battlefield as it is today, appears in the *Lexington Advertiser-News* of May 12, 1938.

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An article by George W. Bailey entitled "John Wilkes Booth Was Once A Guest Here at Tooey Home" appears in the Brookfield *Daily Argus* of February 17, 1938.

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A series of articles by E. L. Renno entitled "The Birth and Early Masonic Life in St. Charles from 1819 to 1897," appear in the St. Charles *Cosmos-Monitor* of March 16, 23 and 30, 1938.

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An article by Robert Birbeck on the evidences of sectionalism found in northwest Missouri during the Civil war, containing tales and incidents from "Around the Brass Kettle, the Pioneer in the Middle West," appears in the *King City Chronicle* of April 29, 1938.

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Albert J. White, retired band leader and song writer, died at his home near Galena, Missouri, on March 16, 1938, apparently a suicide victim. Mr. White was the composer of the popular war-time tune "Goodbye, Broadway, Hello, France,"—From the Galena *Stone County News-Oracle*, March 16, 1938.

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Among the historical contributions made by the late Mrs. Anna Ross Thompson Love of Liberty, Missouri, who died on January 11, 1938, were the George Caleb Bingham portraits of her father and mother, presented in 1936 to the William Rockhill Nelson Art Gallery in Kansas City. Mrs. Love was the daughter of Judge J. T. V. Thompson, a Missouri state senator and large land and slave holder during the early 1800's.—From the *Liberty Tribune*, January 13, 1938.



William Sidney Shepherd, last survivor of the battle of Westport living in Kansas City, died at his home on April 11, 1938. Mr. Shepherd was 89 years old.—From the *Kansas City Times*, April 12, 1938.

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Ben C. (Uncle Ben) Majors, the last living child of Alexander Majors, pioneer Kansas City freighter and trader, died on March 26, 1938, at Kansas City. Mr. Majors was 92 years old.—From the *Kansas City Star*, March 27, 1938.

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An article on Rose O'Neill, artist and sculptor who originated kewpie dolls, appears in the *Kansas City Star* of May 1, 1938. Miss O'Neill now lives in her home called Bonniebrook, in Taney county, Missouri.

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An article on Dr. Addison Alexander Wallace, who for fifty years has served as pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Mexico, Missouri, appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of April 23, 1938.

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A biography of J. C. Penney by Bertha Booth appears in the *Hamilton Advocate-Hamiltonian* of April 7, 14 and 28, 1938.

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A feature story by Richard G. Baumhoff on McCune Gill, St. Louis attorney and historian, appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of March 6, 1938.

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An article on Mrs. Ruth Crews Woodruff of Trenton, Missouri, the first woman in the State's history to file for a seat on the Missouri Supreme Court, appears in the *Kansas City Star* of March 20, 1938.

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Frankie Baker, a negro woman of Portland, Oregon, who claims to be the original "Frankie" of the "Frankie and Johnny" song, has filed suit against a motion picture company, charging that she has been misrepresented in a motion picture featuring the song. The date of the origin of "Frankie and Johnny" is unknown, but it is generally conceded that one

version is based on an incident occurring in St. Louis, and Thomas Hart Benton has featured the episode in the State capitol murals, as a part of Missouri's history.—From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, April 23, 1938.

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An article on George McManus, author of the popular comic strip "Bringing Up Father," appears in the *Kansas City Star* of May 15, 1938. Mr. McManus was born in St. Louis.

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At the annual meeting of the Missouri Academy of Science held on April 21, 22 and 23, 1938, at the Rolla School of Mines, the following officers were elected: Dr. Charles H. Fulton, president; Prof. R. R. Fleet, vice-president; Prof. R. T. Dufford, secretary; and Prof. R. A. Rogers, treasurer. From the Rolla *New Era*, April 29, 1938.

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The State Archeological Society of Missouri held its annual spring meeting in Springfield, Missouri, on May 13, 1938.—From the Springfield *Leader and Press*, May 13, 1938.

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New officers of the Missouri Society of Washington, elected on April 21, 1938, are Representative Orville Zimmerman, president; Senator Harry S. Truman, Carl Ristine, Mrs. Charles P. Keyser, and Representative Richard Duncan, vice-presidents; Craig Reddish, secretary; and William Badgley, treasurer.

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The findings and discussions of the first mid-western conference on rural population, held at the University of Missouri from April 23-24, 1937, have been published in booklet form.

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Typewritten minutes of meetings held by the Board of Management of the Missouri Federation of Music Clubs from 1918 to 1937 were presented to the Society by Mrs. Arthur Hutchison of Neosho, secretary of the group, and Mrs. George Venable of Columbia.

Governor Lloyd C. Stark, in a speech made at the Kirksville State Teachers College in connection with the inauguration of the new president, Dr. Walter H. Ryle, and the laying of a cornerstone for a new building, traced briefly the history of the school and reviewed the administrations of the various presidents of the institution.—From the *Kirksville Daily Express*, May 19, 1938.

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The State Historical Society has received a copy of an address made by McCune Gill of St. Louis at the Camp Jackson Dinner of the Mid-Town Club of St. Louis on May 10, 1938. Mr. Gill told of the capture of Camp Jackson and of the political conditions existing in St. Louis before the capture.

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The State Historical Society has received a copy of an address on Thomas Hart Benton, the artist, given by Harry W. Flannery over radio station KMOX, St. Louis, on February 9, 1938.

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A radio address entitled "Indians of Missouri" was given by Reverend Albert Muntch, S. J., of St. Louis University, over station KMOX in an April broadcast of the Library hour.

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#### HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*A New History of Missouri.* By Frederic Arthur Culmer. (Mexico, Mo., McIntyre Publishing Company, 1938. 592 p.) Dr. Culmer's *New History*, written for general readers and students, is dynamic, stimulating and at times even provocative. The author presents poignant political and cultural materials that perhaps a less daring writer would have avoided. Missouri's military achievements have not been minimized, yet little space, possibly less than 2% of the volume, is devoted to battles and campaigns. This, however, is in harmony with the trend inaugurated during the last two decades to give more attention to social, economic and political developments.

The author begins his work with an account of early French and Spanish origins and continues to the present administration of Governor Lloyd C. Stark. The first one-

third of the book, which treats the period of exploration, settlement and early statehood, is more in harmony with traditional methods of historical writings than the remainder. The author's discovery of Abiel Leonard, a Howard county Whig, and his elevation of the man to a leading role in State politics colors his viewpoint of the middle period and strikes a new note in Missouri political history. He bases his evaluation of this lawyer, politician and State supreme court judge upon a study of several thousand letters and documents which represent Leonard's correspondence with such outstanding Missourians as James S. Rollins, George C. Sibley, Edward Bates, John O'Fallon, Frank P. Blair, James O. Broadhead and Willard P. Hall. The great Missouri senator, Thomas Hart Benton, appears less illimitable here than he is usually portrayed without disparagement, however, of his outstanding position as a national statesman. The author points out that with all of his power Benton could not in 1838, 1841, or 1842 force through the Missouri general assembly his bill to drive paper currency from the State. With equal frankness he discusses the play of pre-Civil and post-Civil war politics. In the chapter entitled, "The Radicals Win," he notes the extent to which political preferment and the injection of political issues into military procedure handicapped the Union leaders in prosecuting the war in Missouri. The maturing of a frontier society, the theme of the last part of the book, is definitely done in a semi-popular style and in this section the writer makes his greatest departure from traditional forms of historical writing and research.

The work has been generously footnoted and indexed and includes a selective bibliography. It contains no maps or illustrative materials. Greater care would have removed a considerable number of factual and typographical errors.

Dr. Culmer, professor of history and political science at Central College, Fayette, Missouri, and a member of the Missouri bar, is an Englishman by birth and a Missourian by adoption. He has been identified for more than a quarter of a century with the cultural and educational life of the State.

*Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875.* Edited by Isidor Loeb and Floyd C. Shoemaker, Volume IV. (Published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1938. 563 p.) Missouri officials, lawyers and students of constitutional history will appreciate the publication of this fourth volume of the *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*. Eight additional volumes will complete a projected twelve-volume series, which is being published by the State Historical Society.

This volume contains the records of the debates of the constitutional convention from the 23rd to the 27th days, inclusive, held on June 2, 4, 5, 7 and 8, 1875, no sessions being held on June 3, or June 6. On these five days the Convention devoted its time to the report of the Committee of the Whole on the draft Bill of Rights, the Preamble, and the report of the Committee on Executive and Ministerial Departments.

The editors, in reproducing the manuscript of this volume in printed form, have followed as nearly as possible the form used in printing and editing the first three volumes of the series. A foreword by Mr. Shoemaker and an introduction by Dr. Loeb preface the book. Copies of the volume may be obtained from the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia.

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*The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America.* By Louise Callan. (New York, Longmans Green and Company, 1937. 809 p.) Although the Society of the Sacred Heart was organized in France in 1800 and began its religious and educational work in the New World at St. Charles, Missouri, in 1818, one hundred and twenty years ago, no attempt was made to evaluate its work in America until the publication of this scholarly, religious and human history.

Chapters II, III, VI and VII deal with the forwarding of the Society in Missouri,—the opening by Mother Duchesne and her four companions of their school in St. Charles, the removal of the school to Florissant in 1819, and the establishment of the order in St. Louis. Any future general history of education in Missouri, attempting an adequate treatment of the subject, will do well to turn to account the fund of educational data set forth in this volume.

Extensive research and thorough documentation, combined with reasoned interpretation and agreeable presentation, make this one of the outstanding historical publications of the year. A comprehensive bibliography and index add to the value of the book.

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*Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, The Water Way to Iowa: Some River History.* By Wm. F. Petersen. (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1937. 575 p.) No chapter in the history of the Mid-West is more dramatic than that of steamboat transportation, and for half a century the steamboat captain was the most picturesque character of the Mississippi Valley.

In the book under review the author describes the boats, the cargoes, the passengers, the captains, and the races. He begins with the voyage of the *New Orleans* in 1811, and continues his account to the closing days of the Civil war. Although the work is essentially a study of steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, it contains much of Missouri interest, since St. Louis was mainly the southern terminus of the run and the steamboats were usually anchored there for the winter. His account of the robbery of the *Sam Gaty* at Sibley's Landing, just below the present site of Kansas City, is of especial interest to Missourians, as are his characterizations of steamboat captains. For enthusiasm and industry in writing and research the writer has few equals and approximates the skill of Mark Twain in portraying the character of river men.

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*Inventory of the County Archives of Missouri; No. 82, Pike County (Bowling Green).* Prepared by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, Works Progress Administration. 85p. mimeographed. (St. Louis November, 1937.) This is the first volume to be issued covering the inventory of the archives of a Missouri county. As stated by Mr. Luther H. Evans, National Director of the Historical Records Survey, the basic purpose of such work "is the preparation of inventories and other bibliographical guides which will render more accessible the great masses of unpublished official documents of the states,

counties, cities, and other units of local government throughout the country, and, also, significant non-public historical materials."

The Pike County *Inventory* accomplishes this purpose. A brief historical summary of the organization of the county, as well as of each of its administrative offices, is followed by pertinent information relating to the kind and quantity of records kept by each office. Hundreds of manuscript volumes, as well as original copies of legal documents from the date of the first entry, are listed. [Note: The State Historical Society of Missouri has been made one of the official depositories for the Historical Records Survey, and as such receives a copy of each inventory of county and other archives compiled by the Survey on each state. The St. Louis Public Library is also a depository for such compilations.]

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*The Administration of Public Printing in the States.* By Estal E. Sparlin. (University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XII, No. 4, October 1, 1937. Thesis, Ph. D. 120 p.)

The author of this comprehensive analysis of state printing problems divides the states into three groups corresponding to their printing methods. The "Class System" is a division of printing into general categories each of which is covered by a separate contract for a certain period. The "Individual Job System" requires that each publication be contracted for separately on its individual specifications, and under competitive bidding. The third group of states is composed of those owning and operating printing plants. Each of the three systems is carefully evaluated by the author, who perhaps regards the "Class System" as least satisfactory. In its application to Missouri, one of eighteen states having the "Class System," this study shows how economies might be effected by adopting another system of printing.

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*Rich Land—Poor People.* By Max R. White, Douglas Ensminger and Cecil L. Gregory. (Indianapolis, United States Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, Region III, Research Report No. 1. [Mimeographed] January, 1938. 62 p.) This sociological survey report on



the seven counties in the Missouri "boot," made by the Farm Security Administration, emphasizes the need for conserving human resources. The work is dynamic and thought provoking. Forty-six illustrative charts and graphs present strikingly the date on an agrarian crisis. The survey considers problems of land ownership, tenantry, farm labor, education, health, religion and recreation. It points out that existing conditions are due to practices extending over a period of more than a century and that the situation is now beyond the control of southeast Missouri.

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*Historical Sketch of the Kansas City Public Library, 1911-1936.* Compiled by Purd B. Wright. (Kansas City, The Lowell Press, 1937. 84 p.) The Kansas City Public Library was established in 1874, when the population of the city was about 40,000, and consisted of only \$100 worth of books and an \$8.00 book case. The institution now has over half a million volumes. Free library cards were first issued to high school students in 1890 and it was not until 1898 that the library was opened free to the public. Mr. Wright became librarian in 1911 and directed the development of the library for a quarter of a century. Today forty per cent of a population of almost 400,000 are enrolled as entitled to library privileges and the annual circulation of books is over two million.

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*The Chronology of a Country Editor, from the Writings of T. V. Bodine*, edited and published by Paul Alexander (Paris, Missouri, 1938. 34 p.) Only the first section of this work has been published to date. The rest of the work will be completed later. It contains histories of families of Monroe county, outstanding personal articles written by Mr. Bodine, poems, and excerpts from his column, "The Scrap Bag." The *Chronology* was begun by Mr. Bodine before his death and is being completed according to his plans by Mr. Alexander.

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*The Old St. Louis Riverfront: An Exhibition of Architectural Studies in the Historical Area of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial.* St. Louis Public Library, Art Room,

April 11-30, 1938. (St. Louis, 1938. 19 p.) This work, which was produced in co-operation with the St. Louis office of the National Parks Service, largely through the aid of Mr. Charles Peterson of that service, is a study of the architecture in thirty-seven blocks of the St. Louis river front area. It contains excellent pictures and brief descriptive data on early river front structures.

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A valuable publication in honor of the Platte purchase centennial was issued on February 21, 1938, by the Conception College *Morning Star*. This twelve-page edition, which is dedicated to Floyd C. Shoemaker, contains articles and illustrations of unusual merit relating to the history of the counties and towns in the Platte Purchase and biographical sketches of the men who played an important part in their development and in the development of the Catholic Church in northwest Missouri.

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*The Dunklin Democrat, 50th Anniversary Edition* (Kennett, Missouri, April 19, 1938. 56 p.) This seven-section edition was printed in honor of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the *Democrat*, formerly known as the *Kennett Clipper*. The paper contains numerous valuable illustrations and articles dealing with the growth and development of Kennett and Dunklin county during the last fifty years, as shown in its educational system, its public roads, its churches, and its public buildings and institutions.

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The October-December, 1937, issue of *Glimpses of the Past*, published by the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, is devoted to "St. Louis Real Estate—In Review." This is of unusual interest as it discusses the boundaries of the city, original property owners, the city directrix, city commons, improvements and names of thoroughfares, public school property, Chouteau's pond, valuable estates, and public parks. The January-March, 1938, issue of *Glimpses of the Past* contains a story of Edward Rose by the late Captain Reuben Holmes, U. S. Army, entitled "The Five Scalps."

The story was first published about 1828 in the St. Louis *Beacon* and later in the *Weekly Reveille* in 1848.

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An article by W. L. Bradshaw, of the University of Missouri, entitled "Education in the Constitutional Convention of 1922-1923," appears in the March, 1938, issue of *School and Community*. In the April issue of the magazine there is an account of the dinner given in St. Louis on March 22 in honor of Dr. Henry J. Gerling, who has served the St. Louis public schools for forty years. This issue also contains the speech made at the dinner by Dr. Frederick A. Middlebush, president of the University of Missouri, in tribute to Dr. Gerling.

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The *Missouri Social Studies Bulletin* of April, 1938, contains an article by Floyd C. Shoemaker describing the purpose and work of the State Historical Society of Missouri and an article by Wayne Frederick of Poplar Bluff senior high school entitled "Vitalizing the Teaching of the Social Studies Through the Use of Materials Furnished by the Local Community."

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"The St. Louis School of Philosophy," by John A. Walz, and "How I Painted Carl Schurz," by Arthur Ferraris, the latter illustrated with a portrait of Carl Schurz, were published in the December, 1937 issue of *The American-German Review*.

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An article on "William Torrey Harris," by Kurt F. Leidecker, appears in *The American-German Review* of March, 1938, published by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc.

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"Missouri in the 1860 Campaign; Correspondence of Thomas C. Reynolds," is the title of an article published in *The Moorsfield Antiquarian* of November, 1937.

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"The Food Supply of Creole Saint Louis," an article by Marshall Smelser, appears in *Mid-America* of October, 1937.

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* of September, 1938, contains an article entitled "Henry Marie Brackenridge and His Writings," by John Francis McDermott of Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

#### PERSONALS

HENRY M. BEARDSLEY: Born in Ohio, Oct. 20, 1858; died at Kansas City, Mo., Apr. 19, 1938. He was educated in Illinois and graduated from the University of Illinois in 1879. Mr. Beardsley came to Kansas City in 1886, forming a law partnership with an Illinois friend, Alfred Gregory. He served as president of the board of public works and as president of the upper house of the city council of Kansas City before his election in 1906 as mayor of the city. Mr. Beardsley served two years as national moderator of the Congregational Church. He became president of the Kansas City Y. M. C. A. in 1892, and held that position until his death.

CHARLES J. COLDEN: Born in Peoria county, Ill., in 1870; died in Washington, D. C., Apr. 15, 1938. His parents moved to Nodaway county, Missouri, in 1880, and he attended Maryville Seminary and the old Stanberry Normal School. He published first the Parnell, Missouri, *Sentinel*, and in 1901 the Maryville *Nodaway Forum*. In the same year Mr. Colden began the first of two terms as a member from Nodaway county in the Missouri house of representatives. In 1912 he moved to California. He was a member of the Los Angeles city council for two terms and was president of the Los Angeles harbor commission. He was elected United States representative from California and served in the 73rd, 74th and 75th Congresses.

CHARLES A. CROW: Born near Sikeston, Mo., on March 31, 1873; died at Campbell, Mo., Mar. 20, 1938. He received his education in the Sikeston public schools, moving to Caruthersville, Missouri, in 1893, where he served as postmaster for eight years. He was elected to the United States Congress in 1908 as representative from the old 14th District, now the 10th District, and served in the 61st Congress.

**THOMAS A. CUMMINS:** Born in Clark county, Ohio, April 14, 1866; died in Maryville, Mo., April 4, 1938. His parents came to Missouri in 1870, and he was educated at Christian Brothers College at St. Joseph and at the old Stanberry Normal School. He read law in an office at Albany, Missouri, and practiced for a time at Darlington, coming to Maryville in 1900. In 1903 he was appointed assistant prosecuting attorney for one term. In 1934 he was elected judge of the fourth judicial circuit of Missouri, and continued in that position until his death.

**NUMA REID HOLCOMB:** Born in North Carolina, 1868; died at Oak Grove, Mo., Feb. 28, 1938. He came to Oak Grove in 1893 and entered the practice of dentistry. He became mayor of the town in 1905, and served as representative from the first district, Jackson county, in the 44th, 45th and 46th General Assemblies. In 1930 Dr. Holcomb was appointed a member of the Jackson county election board, serving until January of this year.

**HERMANN GOTTLIEB KIEL:** Born in Franklin county, Mo., Feb. 22, 1866; died in Washington, D. C., April 2, 1938. After his graduation from the University of Missouri he taught school in Gerald, Missouri, and in Texas. He took graduate work at the University of Breslau in Germany, and on his return was elected county school commissioner. In 1892 he was chairman of the University Removal Committee. He left Franklin county in 1907 to go to Washington, D. C., and he was attached to the adjutant-general's office there until his retirement in 1935. In 1925, Mr. Kiel published the *Centennial Biographical Directory of Franklin County*, a valuable and comprehensive work containing biographical and genealogical data on Franklin county residents. Mr. Kiel was also the author of numerous other publications pertaining to local history and biography.

**WILLIAM M. LEDBETTER:** Born in Wright City, Mo., Oct. 6, 1872; died at Columbia, Mo., March 31, 1938. He was graduated from Central College in Fayette, Missouri, in 1891, and secured a position as secretary to the late Clarence M. Stark, father of Governor Lloyd C. Stark. He later ac-

quired wide journalistic experience on the old Kansas City *Times*, the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, and the St. Louis *Republic*. He was in the advertising business in St. Louis for some time and in 1922 was executive secretary of the New Constitution Association of Missouri that resulted in the calling of the Missouri constitutional convention. Afterwards he engaged in publicity and campaign activities. He was director of the 75-million dollar road bond campaign of 1928, with Governor Stark as general chairman, and in the 10-million dollar state building campaign of 1934, under Governor Park. In 1936 he managed the election campaign of Governor Stark, and last year he was appointed executive secretary of the Missouri social security commission. Mr. Ledbetter was Governor Stark's close personal friend, aiding him in his administrative course.

ROBERT O. MARLIN: Born at Brawnsville, Ill., in 1861; died near Naylor, Mo., Apr. 15, 1938. He was a successful school teacher for several years, was president of the Bank of Naylor for a time, and was one of the organizers of the Farmers and Merchants Bank of that city. In 1924 and 1926 he served as representative from Ripley county in the 52nd and 53rd General Assemblies.

DANIEL MORTON: Born in Kentucky, Nov. 25, 1864; died at St. Joseph, Mo., March 14, 1938. He graduated from medical college in Louisville, in 1877, and took post-graduate work at Columbia University. He came to St. Joseph in the fall of 1888, and soon began editing medical publications and was a leader in the drive for a Social Welfare Board for St. Joseph. When Dr. Morton was made chief surgeon of the Missouri Militia he completely reorganized the medical corps to make it conform to that of the regular army. In 1907 he organized Field Hospital No. 1, one of the first field hospitals organized in the United States. Dr. Morton was active in Methodist church work, and took part in many community enterprises.

LIZZIE HELEN (NELLIE) NORTHCOTT ORMISTON: Born in Linn county, Feb. 17, 1864; died in Linneus, Mo., March 5, 1938. She taught in rural schools for two years, and then

married David B. Ormiston. Mr. Ormiston had a half-interest in the *Linn County News*, and from the time of her marriage Mrs. Ormiston was actively engaged in work on the paper.

**EDWARD DAVIS PHILLIPS:** Born at Mt. Vernon, Ind., April 12, 1853; died at Kansas City, Mo., May 14, 1938. His family moved to Independence, Missouri, when he was still young, and Mr. Phillips attended the University of Missouri for two years. He taught in an Indian school in Kansas for a time, then returned to the University. After the completion of his college career, he began teaching in the Kansas City high schools, where he soon became prominent. His idea for a school to combine academic and technical learning was embodied in Manual Training High School of Kansas City, of which he is known as the founder. Professor Phillips was the oldest living alumnus of the University of Missouri.

**WILLIAM A. QUINN:** Born in Sedalia, Mo., Aug. 17, 1886; died in White Plains, N. Y., Apr. 23, 1938. He studied at St. Vincent's Seminary in Perryville, Missouri, and Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, later studying at St. Vincent's Seminary in Los Angeles and De Paul University in Chicago. He was ordained in 1914, and for several years taught at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., before 1924, when he received the title of Monsignor. In 1923 he was appointed national secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, two years later becoming national director of the Society.

**HARRIS ROBINSON:** Born in Pike county, Mo., July 15, 1878; died in Kansas City, Mo., April 12, 1938. He was educated at Missouri Military Academy at Mexico, Missouri, the University of Missouri, and Princeton University. In 1899 he entered the Kansas City School of Law, in 1900 was admitted to the bar, and the following year joined his father's Kansas City law firm. He was appointed in 1913 by Governor Major to the bench of one of the two new circuits created in that year, and one year later was elected for a six-year term.

**JAMES ALEXANDER SEDDON:** Born at Richmond, Va., March 9, 1850; died in St. Louis county, May 25, 1938. He



was graduated from the University of Virginia in 1870, taught modern languages in a Virginia college for a time, and returned to the University to take his legal degree in 1872. He was admitted to the bar in St. Louis in 1873. He served as judge advocate with the rank of major on Governor Marmaduke's staff, and from 1885 to 1887 served on the St. Louis city council. From 1887 to 1889 he served as circuit judge, and in 1903-1904 was counsel for the World's Fair.

**SANFORD SELLERS:** Born in Anderson county, Ky., 1854; died in Lexington, Mo., March 4, 1938. When Colonel Sellers was a boy he went with his family to Texas, and after his father's death, he got a job as a cowboy there. He returned to Kentucky to complete his education, and in 1877 he graduated from Centre College at Danville, Kentucky. He taught school in Kentucky and Texas, becoming head of Wentworth Military Academy at Lexington in 1900, remaining there until his death, and contributing greatly to the growth of the school. Colonel Sellers was active in civic affairs in Lexington, and was cited as one of the outstanding Rotarians in the country.

**WALTER PITKIN STANLEY:** Born at Pleasant Hill, Mo., Oct. 28, 1881; died at Sedalia, Mo., May 24, 1938. He moved with his family to Sedalia in 1894. He graduated in civil engineering from the Polytechnic Institute at Troy, New York, and followed his profession for a time in New Mexico and Texas. On his return to Sedalia, he became associated with his father, principal owner and manager of the *Sedalia Democrat*, and at his father's death he assumed the general manager-ship. At the time of his death, Mr. Stanley was president of the Sedalia Democrat Company and general manager of the *Sedalia Democrat* and the *Sedalia Capital*.

**JOHN ALEXANDER LOW WADDELL:** Born at Port Hope, Ontario, 1854; died in New York City, March 3, 1938. He graduated from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, New York, in 1875, and then went to Tokyo, where he taught for four years in the Imperial University. When he returned to this country he established an office in Kansas City, and began his career of engineering achievements. He remained

in Kansas City until 1920, when he moved to New York. Dr. Waddell designed and constructed more than seventy lift bridges in this country and abroad, and was decorated by the Chinese, Italian, Japanese and Russian governments for his outstanding achievements. In 1931 the American Association of Engineers awarded him the Clausen medal as the man who had done most to promote the interests of the engineering profession in the United States in the preceding half-century.

ROBERT L. WARD: Born at Dyersburg, Tenn., Aug. 18, 1873; died at Caruthersville, Mo., Mar. 21, 1938. He came to Wayne county, Missouri, at an early age, and was educated in Missouri. He graduated from the University of Missouri in 1901, and was admitted to the bar in the same year. He began his practice at Caruthersville in 1904. Mr. Ward was a past president of the Missouri State Bar Association, and a member of the American Bar Association.

## MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

THE PLANTERS' HOUSE CONFERENCE—1861

Reprinted from the New York *Tribune*, by the Columbia *Missouri Herald*, May 19, 1881.

"Gath" . . . has a lengthy interview with Col. Thomas Snead a native of Richmond, Va., but long a citizen of Missouri, who was a member of the Confederate Congress, and at the same time a Colonel in the field, commanding a regiment or on staff duty. . . .

Said I, "Mr. Snead, whom do you regard as the greatest man you ever saw in all that war period?"

"Captain Nathaniel Lyon," said Snead. "He was the greatest man I ever saw in my life. I met him on three occasions: at the conference between the Missouri State authorities and himself, on the battle-field of Wilson's Creek, and when I laid him in the grave. All that happened in the space of about three months. I buried him by instructions from Gen. Price, and I said to myself when I put him in the ground: 'That is the greatest enthusiast I ever saw and the greatest man'."

I asked Mr. Snead for an estimate of Lyon's character.

"I can't give it," he said. "The impression he made on me was derived from being present at the Planter's House, St. Louis, when Lyon, Frank Blair and Lyon's officer, Conant, met by appointment with Governor Claib. Jackson, Gen. Sterling Price and myself. I am the only surviving and living witness of that scene in June, 1861.

"Lyon was a little red-headed captain of the infantry, stiff, precise, unbending. Gen. Price was an old and high officer of the Mexican war, had been Governor of the State, and was one of the best politicians we had. Claib. Jackson was one of the best politicians in the country. Frank Blair, though rather narrower in qualities than these was a very expert manipulator of men. Price had been a Union man in the Constitutional Convention, but after the capture of Camp Jackson went over the other way and joined the Governor at Jefferson City. Harney had just been removed and Lyon substituted in his place. Rising in a stiff, stern way, Lyon said: 'Governor, Mr. Blair on this occasion will represent my government, whose confidence he possesses in an eminent degree, and of whose intentions he is informed.' Frank Blair then stood up to urge the Union cause, but before he had gone any considerable distance, Lyon, seeing he was playing the politician and not the man, interfered. He took the conversation up, and I never saw in my life such an exhibition of pluck, honesty, coolness and statesmanship. Those old politicians were turned right about and confounded; he never lost his temper, and was grave and cold as death. The others wanted no invasion of Missouri by the Union troops, and a sort of neutrality. At the last, rising up stiffly, Lyon said:

'Before I will consent, sir, that my government shall agree not to maintain her authority in Missouri, or shall pay the least consideration to the authorities of Missouri in their present rebellious and disloyal attitude, or will agree that my government shall not march into your state, fight in your state, and be in every respect the government in your state, I will see you, sir,'—he put his forefinger against Jackson's breast—'and you,'—touching old Gen. Price—'and you,'—to Blair—'and you, and you'—turning to myself and Conant—'or myself'—said he without a particle of bravado, but with the measured coolness and honesty which carried the deadliest meaning—'I will see us all,' finished Lyon, 'under the sod. This means war, Governor Jackson!' He then took his watch out of his pocket, and said: 'You will be allowed time to eat your dinner, which I have ordered for you. There will then be a carriage at this door of the hotel to take you to the train. You will be allowed time to eat your dinner and reach the train.' Without bowing himself out he left the room, his spurs ringing on the floor. "And," finished Mr. Snead, "if we had not hastened out of town and burnt the bridges behind us, he would have caught us that night. He was right after us, raced us out of Jefferson City, kept to us till he saw he was overpowered, and then he died like a man."

#### IMPORTANCE AND FUTURE OF JOPLIN DESCRIBED IN—1873

Reprinted from the St. Louis *Democrat* of February 14, 1873, by the Carthage *Banner*, February 20, 1873.

The memorial which has been prepared for presentation to the Legislature, to secure the incorporation of the towns of Murphysburg and Joplin, illustrates better than any thing else the rapid development of the lead-mining district of which these towns are the center. Murphysburg and Joplin, as has heretofore been explained, are two thriving hamlets situated in the southwestern part of Jasper county. They are divided only by a narrow gulch, the valley of a mineral-washing stream, and for all practical purposes are one town. Jealousies over the name, and a struggle for priority of location, have, however, divided them, and to some extent injured their prosperity. By an overwhelming vote, these differences have now been buried, and as soon as the Legislature responds favorably to the petition for incorporation—which we hope will be at an early day—there will be one city with a single and harmonious government.

Within the Joplin mining district, which is less than two miles square, there has, in the short space of fifteen months, grown up a settlement of more than five thousand permanent inhabitants, besides a large transient population. The reason of the rapid growth of the towns appears from the fact that while the entire amount of pig lead received in St. Louis for the year 1872, from Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa and all Missouri, except Joplin, was about \$19,000,000, the yield of Joplin alone was \$6,000,000, or nearly one-third of the entire receipts. In addition to this, new mines

are being opened, old ones worked deeper, and richer and more extensive deposits of the ore being found. It is therefore reasonably expected that the products of these mines for the year 1873 will reach from \$16,000,000 to \$18,000,000, which will be a yield of at least one-half of the lead shipped to St. Louis, the great lead market of the United States, from four of the largest lead-producing states in the Union. Outside of this famous "Joplin district," and within a radius of five miles, taking the two towns as the center, there are not less than ten mines from which lead is now being taken in paying quantities.

This exhibit is not only interesting as an indication of what has already been accomplished, but is of incalculable worth as an example to other localities where the natural advantages are equally as great, but which lack the pluck and the industry that have been the conspicuous characteristics of the Joplinites. The latter have worked under more than ordinary disadvantages. The tract is shut in from the railroads and from the productive gardens by a wide belt of gloomy, sterile land. The people have lacked capital all along, and they lack it now. They need it to open the yet untouched mineral land; they need money to bring in more steam engines for pumping purposes, to enable poor miners, who have rich prospects, to work their claims to an advantage below the water line; they should have and at once, a white-lead factory in the midst of the mines to consume the lead produced to save the enormous sum annually paid for transportation; they need ready funds to erect dwellings for laborers, and to carry out a dozen other enterprises, for the lack of which the city suffers. But while they have lacked the capital they have possessed abundant nerve, and this has pulled them through. It is reasonable to expect that within a few years Joplin will be one of the wealthiest communities in Missouri.....

PLAT OF OLD FRANKLIN. THE TOWN DESTROYED BY RIVER BUT COULD  
NOW BE REBUILT

Excerpts from the address of Dean E. P. Puckett, of Central College, before the Historical Society of Howard and Cooper Counties, printed serially in the Boonville *Daily News*, beginning February 1, 1938.

.... The plat of Franklin, which may still be seen in the Deed Record Book C of Howard county, page 308, shows that the total number of lots in the original town of Franklin was 97 and that the number was increased to 487 by additions to the original plat. Streets of varying width were laid out. Those passing by the public square were 82½ feet wide while others varied from a width of 33 feet to 100 feet. Naturally, the widest street was named Broadway. Main streets were named Missouri, Madison, Boone, Osage, Hamilton, St. Charles, Washington, Wayne, Jackson, Howard, Lewis, and Clark. A number of streets running more or less parallel with the river were named for trees, Ash, Cherry, Locust, Mulberry, Plum, and Oak. The nearest street to the river, paralleling its course, was called Vine.

As people continued to come into the Boon's Lick country, other towns were started by aspiring promoters, but from 1816 to 1830 Franklin was the outstanding business center on the Missouri river west of St. Charles.

Two things operated to cause the eventual downfall of the town. First, the seat of government was shifted, by act of the General Assembly on Nov. 14, 1822, to a place at or near the center of the county which came to be called Fayette. The last term of the Circuit Court held in Franklin was in November, 1823. The second force operating to destroy Franklin was the uncontrolled Missouri river. Early in the twenties it began to show displeasure toward the town and by 1829 much of the business that had formerly been carried on in Franklin had been shifted to the new town of New Franklin (begun in 1828), to Boonville—just across the river—and to other and newer towns that were springing up along the river.

By a peculiar twist of fate the river first destroyed all of the fifty-five acres of the original town of Franklin excepting parts of lots 11, 12, and 31, and then as if in repentance began to rebuild the land so that now the town could be replatted on its old lines. By way of parenthesis it may be said that the old town was located about at the place where the M. K. & T. railroad now crosses the Missouri river....

(*Editor's Note:* Here follows a survey of the economic factors of importance in the history of Old Franklin.)

#### EXTRACTS FROM BISHOP KEMPER'S LETTERS

From the *Nashotah* (Wis.) *Nashotah Scholiast*, October, 1884.

Boonville, Mo., Nov. 11, 1838.

I started from St. Louis, on Tuesday at noon the 6th inst., in the stage. That morning it snowed and there were strong symptoms of winter; still it appeared to be too early for the cold to become permanent. I was enabled at night to preach to the congregation at St. Charles, and to cheer them by the prospect of soon having a missionary settled among them. The next morning I was off by three. One of my fellow travellers was Col. Benton, one of the senators from Missouri. On Thursday morning I arrived at Fulton, expecting to meet Mr. Peake and Mr. Gregory there, but the weather was so unpleasant that they remained snug in this place. That night I celebrated Divine Service at Fulton, and during the day became acquainted with the few Episcopalians who reside there. During Friday I was in great perplexity. Everything indicated approaching winter, and I more than once determined to return to St. Louis. But at noon the clouds dispersed, and at two I was on horseback, bound to Boonville. All yesterday I rode in the snow, which at times fell exceedingly fast. Being well wrapped up, I enjoyed myself, and was much cheered by the beautiful text for the day. I had to stop six miles from this place with an old lady and her sons, who had large flocks of geese, and bees, the former of which kept up such a clatter about the door that at times we could not hear each other speak. I had family prayers with the

old lady and her sons, and they refused taking any compensation for my supper, bed and breakfast.

I arrived here yesterday an hour before sunrise, and found Mr. Gregory with Mr. Peake. They had considered the weather too bad for them to encounter, but were encouraged for the future when they learned I had enjoyed the ride and was rather warm during the whole of Saturday.

Yesterday I administered the Lord's Supper to the little band of communicants in this place (Boonville), and preached in the afternoon. Some time today it is probable we shall start for the Senecas. I hope we shall reach them in a week's time, and I am assured we shall not be obliged to camp out once, but on the contrary will find houses to sleep at, the whole way. To turn back now would be exceedingly painful. The Church expects this visit to be made, and is anxious to know the result, and it is highly probable that we may have some weeks of fair weather before Christmas. I shall not be able, I fear, to attend the consecration of Mr. Polk, but there will be enough without me, whereas this journey is peculiarly mine. I left my valise, with clothes, books and all my papers, at Fulton, fully expecting it by stage of yesterday. It did not, however come, and I cannot wait for the next stage, which will not be in until Wednesday. I shall therefore buy one or two articles and go off without my papers. My next may be from the Seneca nation.

#### SIDEWHEEL ROWBOATS FOR MILITARY TRANSPORT ON THE MISSOURI RIVER

Extract of a letter from Brig. General Atkinson to the Adjutant General, printed in the *Franklin Missouri Intelligencer*, December 25, 1824.

Franklin (Mo.) Oct. 13, 1824.

"I have delayed informing Maj. Gen. Brown of my movements, that I might at the same time report the progress of the detachment of the first regiment, under Maj. Kearney, and the recruits, under Capt. Shaler, now on their passage to the Council Bluffs.

With regard to our transport boats, I have made a very important improvement in the mode of propelling them, both as respects facility of movement, and the comfort and saving of labor to the men. Formerly, the boats were dragged up by the men, with a long rope, one end attached to the mast, and the other in the hands of the men, who made their way through brambles, bush, and mire, at the rate of from eight to twelve miles per day. Now the men are comfortably seated on benches, on deck, under an awning that protects them from the weather, performing the labor somewhat after the manner of rowing, and making from 16 to 22 miles per day. The machinery for propelling these boats consists of a shaft thrown across the centre of the boat (at a proper elevation) to the ends of which are water wheels, similar to those used by steam boats; this shaft has a vertical cog-wheel in the centre, five feet in diameter, and is moved by a smaller vertical cog-wheel, the iron shaft of which rests on a frame, and projects several inches at one end, without the frame, to which is attached a fly-wheel eight feet in diameter, an arm of which, with a



wrist projecting, forms a crank, on which two pitmans, extending either way, are worked by frames moving directly horizontal, on slides, with a stroke of three feet. The frames have a succession of cross bars, behind which the men sit on benches, four abreast. The whole operation is simple and beautiful, the men moving each frame, as the crank performs the circle, with a simultaneous motion of their bodies and arms, and a united and uniform stroke."

(*Editor's Note:* The following extract is from the Franklin *Missouri Intelligencer* of October 7, 1825.)

We learn, by the arrival here of an officer attached to the Yellow Stone Expedition, that the Commissioners, General Atkinson and Maj. O'Fallon, accompanied by the troops, ascended the Missouri as far as *Two Thousand Mile Creek*. After making treaties with various tribes of Missouri Indians, the expedition returned to Fort Atkinson (Council Bluffs) on the 19th ult. without the loss of a single man. The extraordinary value of the wheel boats was confirmed in descending the river, at a low stage of water....

#### CONSTRUCTING THE STEAMER "ST. LOUIS"

From the St. Louis *Missouri Argus*, March 24, 1837.

A Western Steamboat. The Pittsburg *Advocate* gives the following as the dimensions of a splendid steamboat, to be called the St. Louis, now in progress of completion at the wharf in that city. The dimensions of this boat are: 205 feet straight keel, 28 feet beam, 9½ feet hold, 230 feet on the main deck, 55 feet from out to out. The main cabin is 140 feet in length, and the boat will carry about 1000 tons.

#### BUSINESS CAREER OF MOSES AUSTIN

Written by Harry R. Burke in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, May 6, 1938.

....Moses Austin was a Yankee, born at Durham, Conn., in 1765. He was a "natural born" trader, it would seem, for by the time he was 18 he had opened a dry goods store in Philadelphia, where a year later, he was listed as an importer and wholesaler. In 1783 he moved to Richmond, Va., as resident partner of the firm of Austin & Merrill. Eight years later he was at the lead mines in Wythe county, Va. Now for 25 years he would be identified with the production of lead.

He was cunning rather than shrewd, with a quick eye to see a chance for fortune, grasping, and inclined to overreach himself, hard to get along with except on his own terms, cantankerous and canting. "But I am preaching to one who is much more able to preach to me," wrote his wife, as she ended a casual homily in a letter she wrote him in 1789. Despite heaped-up moralities he wore his religion as easily as his citizenship, to be as quickly discarded if there were profit in the offing. Born, of course, a British subject, the Revolution made him an American. That American citizenship he discarded—professing also to become a Catholic—in order to get his grant of mining land in the rich lead country at Potosi. When

it was rumored that Spain was returning Louisiana to France he wrote, in his best Uriah Heep manner, to James Richardson planning to concoct a flattering memorial to Napoleon "to render the Americans in the country as respectable as possible." When America, instead, took possession of the land he became at once the most American of Americans—and the first presiding Judge in the District of Ste. Genevieve. Nor does he seem to have bothered so much about his professed Catholic faith.

He was quite too busy, it seems evident, with his efforts to fortify himself politically in his epic struggle with Col. John Smith T. for a monopoly of Missouri's lead. It was a battle which began even before the Americans had taken possession of the country, for Col. John Smith T., through his affiliations with Gen. Wilkinson and Aaron Burr, had reached the country in Spanish days to buy up lead properties to provide ammunition for that notorious "conspiracy" against Spain's colony of Mexico, where Smith T. would later start the revolution which ultimately freed Mexico from Spain.

Between him and Austin, from the first, there was no love lost. Austin's title to his mining property of one league square was questionable. Smith T.'s "floating grant" gave him right to mine upon any part of the public domain where mineral was found. The result was conflict, with brawls, brutalities, assassinations, duels, and even open battles. When Austin was removed as presiding Judge by Gov. Wilkinson in 1805 and John Smith T. appointed to succeed him, Austin and his partisans talked openly of seizing his old place on the bench and holding it by force or arms. "Will it not produce a riot?" warned Deputy District Attorney Will C. Carr. "Can Smith yeild peaceably? I fear not."

For years the turmoil in the lead country continued. . . . Austin waxed great and powerful. And in 1816 he transferred his estate of Durham Hall, together with his Negroes, his plantation, his lead mines and furnaces, to his eldest son, Stephen, retiring to St. Louis to become interested in the organization of the Bank of St. Louis of which he was a director, and which made him a loan of \$15,000 on a mortgage on 640 acres. But the bank failed, and Austin's whole property was sold to satisfy the judgment thereon, together with one for \$493.94, to Alexander McNair, and Col. John Smith T., on August 10, 1826, bought in the Austin property.

The wreck of his hopes in banking turned Austin's attention to Texas. There exists a significant letter to his second son, James Elijah—then at school in Kentucky—written after the collapse of the Austin fortune, in which the father regrets that he can no longer pay the expenses of his boy's education just now but needs only a little time to work out a plan; for he tells of his Texas scheme and reminds the son that he was born a Catholic with the suggestion that when they get to Mexico, where the Church has charge of education, he will receive his collegiate schooling without expense to the family. . . .

He set off in 1820 for San Antonio and ultimately managed to obtain from the Spanish Government a concession to establish 300 Catholic families in the Province of Texas, being the first of those adventurers to be

called "impresarios." On his way back from his successful mission he took ill and only reached home to die of pneumonia in 1821. Stephen Austin, who, following the collapse of his father's fortunes, had become interested in the promotion of Little Rock, Ark., took over the concession and completed his father's contract with many settlers from Missouri.

[*Editor's Note:* Here follows some data on Austin's financial condition before he reached Missouri, and his business policies after his arrival. Other sidelights on his career are given.]

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# THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW



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OF THE  
CITY OF  
NEW YORK

FROM 1625 TO 1898

BY

JOHN EDGAR  
AND  
JOHN F. JOHNSON



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